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THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF

THE RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE:

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY

REGINALD HEBER, A.M.

CANON OF ST. ASAPH, RECTOR OF HODNET, AND LATE FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE.

VOLUME X.

CONTAINING

THE REAL PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE HOLY SACRAMENT;
AND THE DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY.

J. MOYES, GREVILLE STREET, LONDON.

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SECTION X.

The Doctrine of Transubstantiation is against Sense.

1. THAT which is one of the firmest pillars, upon which all human notices, and upon which all Christian religion does rely, cannot be shaken; or if it be, all science and all religion must be in danger[a]. Now, besides that all our notices of things proceed from sense, and our understanding receives his proper objects, by the mediation of material and sensible fantasms, and the soul, in all her operations during this life, is served by the ministries of the body, and the body works upon the soul only by sense; besides this, St. John hath placed the whole religion of a Christian upon the certainty and evidence of sense, as upon one unmoveable foundation[b]: "That which was from the beginning, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have beheld, and our hands have handled of the word of life. And the life was made manifest, and we have seen it, and bear witness and declare unto you eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested to us, which we have seen and heard, we declare unto you." Tertullian, in his book "De Anima," uses this very argument against the Marcionites: "Recita Johannis testationem;

[a] Τούτων ζητεῖν λόγον, ἀφέντας τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀβέβαιόν ἐστι διανοίας.—*Arist.* lib. viii. *Phys.* tom. 22.

Καὶ τῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς φαινομένων πρέπτων ἀφέντα τὸν λόγον τῆς αἰτίας ἡ πεῖρα.—*S. Basil.* ep. 43.

[b] 1 St. John, i. 1, 2, 3.

'quod vidimus (inquit) quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt, de sermone vitæ:' Falsa utique testatio, si oculorum, et aurium, et manuum sensus natura mentitur:" " His testimony was false, if eyes, and ears, and hands be deceived." In nature there is not a greater argument than to have heard, and seen, and handled.

> Sed, quia profundâ non licet luctarier
> Ratione tecum, consulamus proxima:
> Interrogetur ipsa naturalium
> Simplex sine arte sensuum sententia[c].

And by what means can an assent be naturally produced, but by those instruments by which God conveys all notices to us, that is, by seeing and hearing? Faith comes by hearing, and evidence comes by seeing; and if a man, in his wits, and in his health, can be deceived in these things, how can we come to believe?

> Corpus enim per se communis dedicat esse
> Sensus; quoi nisi prima fides fundata valebit,
> Haud erit, occulteis de rebus quo referenteis
> Confirmare animos quidquam ratione queamus[d].

For if a man or an angel declares God's will to us, if we may not trust our hearing, we cannot trust him: for we know not whether, indeed, he says what we think he says; and if God confirms the proposition by a miracle, an ocular demonstration, we are never the nearer to the believing him, because our eyes are not to be trusted. But if feeling also may be abused, when a man is, in all other capacities, perfectly healthy, then he must be governed by chance, and walk in the dark, and live upon shadows, and converse with fantasms and illusions, as it happens; and then at last it will come to be doubted, whether there be any such man as himself, and whether he be awake when he is awake, or not rather, then only awake when he himself and all the world thinks him to have been asleep: " Oculatæ sunt nostræ manus, credunt quod vident."

2. Now then, to apply this to the present question, in the words of St. Austin, " Quod ergo vidistis, panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant:" " That which our

[c] Supplic. Romani Martyr. Prudent. [d] Lucret. lib. i. 423. Wakefield.

eyes have seen, that which our hands have handled, is bread[e]; we feel it, taste it, see it to be bread, and we hear it called bread, that very substance, which is called the body of our Lord. Shall we now say, our eyes are deceived, our ears hear a false sound, our taste is abused, our hands are mistaken? It is answered, Nay; our senses are not mistaken: "For our senses, in health and due circumstances, cannot be abused in their proper object; but they may be deceived about that, which is under the object of their senses; they are not deceived in colour, and shape, and taste, and magnitude, which are the proper objects of our senses; but they may be deceived in substances which are covered by these accidents; and so it is not the outward sense so much as the inward sense that is abused. For so Abraham, when he saw an angel in the shape of a human body, was not deceived in the shape of a man, for there was such a shape; but yet it was not a man, and, therefore, if he thought it was, he was abused[f];" this is their answer: and if this will not serve the turn, nothing will: this, therefore, must be examined.

3. Now this, instead of taking away the insuperable difficulty, does much increase it, and confesses the things, which it ought to have avoided. For, 1. The accidents, proper to a substance, are for the manifestation, a notice of the substance, not of themselves; for as the man feels, but the means by which he feels, is the sensitive faculty, so that which is felt, is the substance, and the means by which it is felt, is the accidents: as the shape, the colour, the bigness, the motion of a man, are manifestative and declarative of a human substance: and if they represent a wrong substance, then the sense is deceived by a false sign of a true substance, or a true sign of a false substance: as if an alchymist should show me brass coloured like gold, and made ponderous, and so adulterated, that it would endure the touchstone for a long while, the deception is, because there is a pretence of improper accidents; true accidents indeed, but not belonging to that substance. But, 2. It is true that is pretended, that it is not so much the outward sense that is abused as the inward; that is, not so much the eye as the man; not the

[e] In Serm. apud Bed. in 1 Cor. x. Sed hæc verba citantur ab Algero, lib. i. de Sacram. c. 5. ex Serm. de verbis Domini.

[f] Bellarm. lib. i. Euch. c. 14. Sect. Jam ad Petrum Martyrem.

sight, but the judgment: and this is it we complain of. For indeed, in proper speaking, the eye or the hand is not capable of being deceived; but the man, by the eye, or by the ear, or by his hand. The eye sees a colour, or a figure, and the inward sense apprehends it to be the figure of such a substance, and the understanding judges it to be the thing which is properly represented by the accident: it is so, or it is not so: if it be, there is no deception; if it be not so, then there is a cozenage, there is no lie till it comes to a proposition, either explicit or implicit; a lie is not in the senses; but when a man, by the ministry of the senses, is led into the apprehension of a wrong object, or the belief of a false proposition, then he is made to believe a lie: and this is our case, when accidents, proper to one substance, are made the cover of another, to which they are not naturally communicable. And in the case of the holy sacrament, the matter, if it were as is pretended, were intolerable. For in the cases, wherein a man is commonly deceived, it is his own fault by passing judgment too soon; and if he should judge glass to be crystal, because it looks like it; this is not any deception in the senses, nor any injury to the man; because he ought to consider more things than the colour, to make his judgment whether it be glass, or crystal, or diamond, or ice; the hardness, the weight, and other things, are to be ingredients in the sentence. And if any two things had all the same accidents, then, although the senses were not deceived, yet the man would, certainly and inculpably, mistake. If therefore, in the eucharist, as is pretended, all the accidents of bread remain, then all men must necessarily be deceived; if only one or two did remain, one sense would help the other, and all together would rightly inform the understanding. But when all the accidents remain, they cannot but represent that substance, to which those accidents are proper; and then the holy sacrament would be a constant, irresistible deception of all the world, in that in which all men's notices are most evident and most relied upon,—I mean their senses. And then the question will not be, whether our senses can be deceived or no? but whether or no it can stand with the justice and goodness of God, to be angry with us for believing our senses, since himself hath so ordered it, that we cannot avoid being deceived? there being, in this case, as much

reason to believe a lie as to believe a truth,—if things were so as they pretend. The result of which is this: That as no one sense can be deceived about his proper object, but that a man may about the substance lying under those accidents, which are the object proper to that sense, because he gives sentence according to that representment otherwise than he ought, and he ought to have considered other accidents proper to other senses, in making the judgment; as the birds that took the picture of grapes for very grapes, and he that took the picture of a curtain for a very curtain, and desired the painter to draw it aside; they made judgment of the grapes and the curtain only by colour and figure, but ought to have considered the weight, the taste, the touch, and the smell: so on the other side, if all the senses concur, then not only is it true, that the senses cannot be deceived about that object, which is their own, but neither ought the man to be deceived about that substance, which lies under those accidents; because their ministry is all that natural instrument of conveying notice to a man's understanding, which God hath appointed. 4. Just upon this account it is, that St. John's argument had been just nothing in behalf of the whole religion: for that God was incarnate, that Jesus Christ did such miracles, that he was crucified, that he arose again, and ascended into heaven, that he preached these sermons, that he gave such commandments, he was made to believe by sounds, by shapes, by figures, by motions, by likenesses, and appearances, of all the proper accidents: and his senses could not be deceived about the accidents, which were the proper objects of the senses; but if they might be deceived about the substance under these accidents, of what truth or substance could he be ascertained by their ministry? for he indeed saw the shape of a human body; but it might so be, that not the body of a man, but an angelical substance, might lie under it; and so the article of the assumption of human nature is made uncertain. And upon the same account, so are all the other articles of our faith, which relied upon the verity of his body and nature: all which, if they are not sufficiently signified by their proper accidents, could not be ever the more believed for being seen with the eyes, and heard with the ears, and handled with our hands; but if they were sufficiently declared by their proper accidents, then the

understanding can no more be deceived in the substances lying under the accidents, than the senses can in the accidents themselves.

4. To the same purpose it was, that the apostles were answered concerning the article of the truth of Christ's resurrection. For when the apostles were affrighted at his sudden appearing, and thought it had been a spirit, Christ called them to feel his hands, and to show that it was he; "For a spirit hath no flesh and bones, as ye see me have[g];" plainly meaning, that the accidents of a body[h] were not communicable to a spirit; but how easily might they have been deceived, if it had pleased God to invest other substances with new and stranger accidents? For though a spirit hath not flesh and bones, they may represent to the eyes and hands the accidents of flesh and bones; and if it could, in the matter of faith, stand with the goodness and wisdom of God to suffer it, what certainty could there be of any article of our religion relating to Christ's humanity, or any proposition proved by miracles? To this instance *the man that must answer all*, I mean *Bellarmine*, ventures something[i]: saying it was a good argument of our blessed Saviour, "Handle and see that I am no spirit: that which is handled and seen is no spirit:" but it is no good argument to say, This is not seen, not handled, therefore it is no body: and, therefore, the body of Christ may be naturally in the sacrament, though it is not seen nor handled.—To this I reply, 1. That suppose it were true what he said, yet it would also follow by his own words. 'This is seen bread,' and 'is handled,' so therefore 'it is bread.' 'Hoc enim affirmativè colligitur.' This is the affirmative consequent made by our blessed Lord, and here confessed to be certain. It being the same collection. "It is I; for, by feeling and seeing, you shall believe it to be so:" and "it is bread; for, by feeling, and seeing, and tasting, and smelling it, you shall perceive it to be so."—To which let this be added: That in Scripture it is as plainly affirmed to be bread, as it is called Christ's body. Now then, because it cannot be both in the proper and natural

[g] St. Luke, xxiv. 39.

[h] Quod videtur, corpus est: quod palpatur, corpus est. S. Ambros. in S. Luc. 4.

[i] Lib. i. de Euch. c. 14. Sect. Resp. ad Calvinum.

sense, but one of them must be figurative and tropical; since both of the appellatives are equally affirmed, is it not notorious, that, in this case, we ought to give judgment on that side, which we are prompted to by common sense? If Christ had said only, This is my body,—and no apostle had told us also that it is bread,—we had reason to suspect our senses to be deceived, if it were possible they should be: but when it is equally affirmed to be bread, as to be our Lord's body, and but one of them can be naturally true and in the letter, shall the testimony of all our senses be absolutely of no use in casting the balance? The two affirmatives are equal; one must be expounded tropically; which will you choose? Is there in the world any thing more certain and expedite than that what you see, and feel, and taste, natural and proper, should be judged to be that which you see, and feel, and taste, naturally and properly, and therefore, that the other be expounded tropically? Since you must expound one of the words tropically, I think it is not hard to determine, whether you ought to do it against your sense, or with it. But it is also remarkable, that our blessed Lord did not, only by feeling and seeing, prove it to be a body; but by proving it was 'his body,' he proved it was 'himself;' that is, "by these accidents, representing my person, ye are not led into an error of the person, any more than of the kind and substance; 'see my hands and my feet,' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἰμί, 'that it is even I myself;'" this I noted, lest a silly escape be made, by pretending these accidents only proved Christ to be no spirit, but a body; and so the accidents of bread declare a latent body, meaning the body of Christ; for as the accidents of a body declare the substance of a body, so the particular accidents of this kind declare this kind, of this person declare this person. For so our blessed Saviour proved it to be himself in particular; and if it were not so, the deceit would pass from one thing to another; and although it had not been a spirit, yet it might be John the Baptist risen from the dead, or Moses, or Elias, and not Jesus their dear Lord. Besides, if this had been all that Jesus had intended, only to prove he was no 'spectrum,' but a body, he had not done what was intended. For put case it had been a spirit, and had assumed a body, as Bellarmine, in the very next paragraph, forgetting himself, or else being

entangled in the wildernesses of an inconsistent discourse, affirms, that in Scriptures the Israelites did sometimes see; and then they were not deceived in touching or seeing a body; for there was a body assumed, and so it seemed to Abraham and Lot; but then, suppose Jesus Christ had done so, and had been indeed a spirit in an assumed body, had not the apostles been deceived by their feeling and seeing, as well as the Israelites were, in thinking those angels to be men, that came to them in human shapes? How had Christ's arguments been pertinent and material? How had he proved, that he was no spirit, by showing a body, which might be the case of a spirit? but that it is not consistent with the wisdom and goodness of God to suffer any illusion in any matter of sense relating to an article of faith.

5. Secondly: It was the case of the Christian church once, not only to rely upon the evidence of sense for an introduction to the religion, but also to need and use this argument in confirmation of an article of the creed; for the Valentinians and the Marcionites thought Christ's body to be fantastical, and so denied the article of the incarnation: and if arguments from sense were not enough to confute them, viz. that the apostles did see and feel a body, flesh, and blood, and bones, how could they convince these misbelievers? for whatsoever answer can be brought against the reality of bread in the eucharist, all that may be answered in behalf of the Marcionites: for if you urge to them all those places of Scripture, which affirm Christ to have a body, they answer, it was in Scripture called a body, because it seemed to be so; which is the answer Bellarmine gives to all those places of Scripture, which call it 'bread' after consecration. And if you object, that if it be not what it seems, then the senses are deceived; they will answer, (a Jesuit being bye[k], and prompting them), the senses were not deceived, because they only saw colour, shape, figure, and the other accidents; but the inward sense and understanding, that is, the man was deceived, when he thought it to be the body of a man; for under those accidents and appearances, there was an angel, or a Divinity, but no man: and now, upon the grounds of transubstantiation, how can they be confuted, I would fain know.

[k] Lib. i. de Euch. c. 14. Sect. Respondent nonnulli.

6. But Tertullian[l], disputing against them, uses the argument of sense, as the only instrument of concluding against them infallibly: "Non licet nobis in dubium sensus istos revocare," &c. "It is not lawful to doubt of our senses, lest the same doubt be made concerning Christ; lest, peradventure, it should be said, he was deceived when he said, 'I saw Satan, like lightning, fall from heaven;' or when he heard the voice of his Father testifying concerning him; or lest he should be deceived when he touched Peter's wife's mother by the hand; or that he smelt another breath of ointment, and not what was offered to his burial; 'Alium postea vini saporem, quod in sanguinis sui memoriam consecravit,' or 'tasted another taste of wine, which he consecrated to the memory of his blood.'" And if the catholic Christians had believed the substantial, natural presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and, consequently, disbelieved the testimony of four senses, as the church of Rome at this day does,—seeing, smelling, tasting, feeling,—it had been impudence in them to have reproved Marcion, by the testimony of two senses, concerning the verity of Christ's body. And supposing that our eyes could be deceived, and our taste, and our smelling, yet our touch cannot: for supposing the organs equally disposed, yet 'touch' is the guardian of truth, and his nearest natural instrument; all sensation is by touch, but the other senses are more capable of being deceived; because, though they finally operate by touch variously affected, yet their objects are further removed from the organ; and, therefore, many intermedial things may intervene, and, possibly, hinder the operation of the sense; that is, bring more diseases and disturbances to the action: but in 'touch,' the object and the instrument join close together; and, therefore, there can be no impediment, if the instrument be sound, and the object proper. And yet no sense can be deceived in that which it always perceives alike; "The touch can never be deceived[m];" and, therefore, a testimony from it and three senses more, cannot possibly be refused: and, therefore, it were strange if all the Christians, for above one thousand six hundred years together, should be deceived, as if the eucha-

[l] Lib. de Animâ, c. 17.

[m] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἴσθησις τῶν ἰδίων αἰεὶ ἀληθής.— *Aristot. de Animâ*, lib. iii. t. 15.

rist were a perpetual illusion, and a riddle to the senses, for so many ages together: and indeed the fault, in this case, could not be in the senses: and, therefore, Tertullian and St. Austin[n] dispute wittily, and substantially, that the senses could never be deceived, but the understanding ought to assent to what they relate to it, or represent: for if any man thinks the staff is crooked that is set half way in the water, it is the fault of his judgment, not of his sense; for the air and the water being several mediums, the eye ought to see otherwise in air, otherwise in water; but the understanding must not conclude falsely from these true premises, which the eye ministers: for the thicker medium makes a fraction of the species by incrassation and a shadow; and when a man, in the yellow jaundice, thinks every thing yellow, it is not the fault of his eye, but of his understanding; for the eye does his office right, for it perceives just as is represented to it, the species are brought yellow; but the fault is in the understanding, not perceiving that the species are stained near the eye, not further off: when a man, in a fever, thinks every thing bitter, his taste is not deceived, but judges rightly; for as a man, that chews bread and aloes together, tastes not false, if he tastes bitterness; so it is, in the sick man's case; the juice of his meat is mingled with choler, and the taste is acute and exact, by perceiving it such as it is so mingled. The purpose of which discourse is this, that no notices are more evident and more certain than the notices of sense; but if we conclude contrary to the true dictates of senses, the fault is in the understanding, collecting false conclusions from right premises[o]: it follows, therefore, that, in the matter of the eucharist, we ought to judge that which our senses tell us; for whatsoever they say is true: for no deceit can come by them; but the deceit is, when we believe something besides or against what they tell us; especially when the organ is perfect, and the object proper, and the medium regular, and all things perfect, and the same always and to all men. For it is observable, that, in this case, the senses are competent judges of the natural being of what they see, and taste, and smell, and feel; and, according to that, all the

[n] Lib. de Animâ, c. 87, &c. S. Austin. c. 33. de Verâ Religione.

[o] Αἱ μὲν ἀληθεῖς ἀεί, αἱ δὲ φαντασίαι γίνονται αἱ πλείους ψευδεῖς. — *Arist.* lib. iii. *De Anim.* lib. claxv. Διαπεῖσθαι δ' ἐνδέχεται καὶ ψευδῶς. — *Id. ibid.*

men in the world can swear, that what they see, is bread and wine; but it is not their office to tell us, what they become by the institution of our Saviour; for that we are to learn by faith, that what is bread and wine, in nature, is, by God's ordinance, the sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour of the world; but one cannot contradict another; and, therefore, they must be reconciled: both say true, that which faith teaches, is certain; and that which the senses of all men teach always, that also is certain and evident; for as the rule of the school says excellently, "Grace never destroys nature, but perfects it[p]," and so it is in the consecration of bread and wine; in which, although we are more to regard their signification than their matter,—their holy employment than their natural usage,—what they are by grace rather than what they are by nature,—that they are sacramental rather than that they are nutritive,—that they are consecrated and exalted by religion, rather than that they are mean and low in their natural beings,—what they are to the spirit and understanding, rather than what they are to the sense;—yet this also is as true and as evident as the other: and, therefore, though not so apt for our meditation, yet as certain as that which is.

7. Thirdly: Though it be a hard thing to be put to prove that bread is bread, and that wine is wine; yet, if the arguments and notices of sense may not pass for sufficient, an impudent person may, without possibility of being confuted, outface any man, that an oyster is a rat, and that a candle is a pig of lead: and so might the Egyptian soothsayers have been too hard for Moses; for when they changed rods into serpents, they had some colour to tell Pharaoh they were serpents as well as the rod of Moses; but if they had failed to turn the water into blood, they needed not to have been troubled, if they could have borne down Pharaoh, that, though it looked like water, and tasted like water, yet, by their enchantment, they had made it verily to be blood: and, upon this ground of having different substances, improper and disproportioned accidents, what hinders them but they might have said so? and if they had, how should they have been confuted? But this manner of proceeding would be suf-

[p] Aquin. part. 1. q. 1. a. 8. ad. 2.

ficient to evacuate all reason, and all science, and all notices of things; and we may as well conclude snow to be black, and fire cold, and two and two to make five and twenty.

8. But, it is said, although the body of Christ be invested with improper accidents, yet sometimes Christ hath appeared in his own shape, and blood and flesh hath been pulled out of the mouths of the communicants: and Plegilus, the priest, saw an angel, showing Christ to him in form of a child upon the altar, whom first he took in his arms and kissed, but did eat him up presently in his other shape, in the shape of a wafer. "Speciosa certè pax nebulonis, ut qui oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferret exitium," said Berengarius[q]: "It was but a Judas' kiss to kiss with the lip, and bite with the teeth."—But if such stuff as this may go for argument, we may be cloyed with them in those unanswerable authors, Simeon Metaphrastes for the Greeks, and Jacobus de Voragine for the Latin, who make it a trade to lie for God, and for the interest of the catholic cause. But, however, I shall tell a piece of a true story. In the time of Soter, pope of Rome, there was an impostor called Mark[r]; Εἰδωλοποιὸς, that was his appellative: and he πωτήρια οἴνου κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκ τίνων τῶν λόγων τῆς ἐπικλήσεως πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ, 'pretending to make the chalice of wine and water eucharistical, saying long prayers over it, made it look red or purple,' that it might be thought that grace, which is above all things, does drop the blood into the chalice by invocation. Such as these have been often done by human artifice, or by operation of the devil, said Alexander of Ales[s]. If such things as these were done regularly, it were pretence enough to say it is flesh and blood that is in the eucharist; but when nothing of this is done by God,—but heretics and knaves, jugglers and impostors, hoping to change the sacrament into a charm, by abusing the spiritual sense into a gross and carnal, against the authority of Scripture and the church, reason or religion,—have made pretences of those things, and still the holy sacrament, in all the times of ministration, hath the form and all the perceptibilities of bread and wine: as we may believe those impostors

[q] Guil. Malmesbur. de Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. iii.
[r] Irenæ. lib. i. c. 9.
[s] Sum. Theod. part. 4. q. 11. memb. 2. art. 4. sect. 3.

did more rely upon the pretences of sense than of other arguments, and, distrusting them, did fly to these as the greater probation: so we rely upon that way of probation, which they would have counterfeited, but which indeed Christ, in his institution, hath still left in the nature of the symbols, viz. that it is that which it seems to be, and that the other superinduced predicate of the body of Christ is to be understood only in that sense, which may still consist with that substance, whose proper and natural accidents remain, and are perceived by the mouth, and hands, and eyes, of all men. To which this may be added, that, by the doctrine of the late Roman schools, all those pretences of real appearances of Christ's body or blood, must be necessarily concluded to be impostures, or airy fantasms and illusions; because themselves teach that Christ's body is so in the sacrament,—that Christ's own eyes cannot see his own body in the sacrament: and in that manner by which it is there, it cannot be made visible; no, not by the absolute power of God. Nay, it can be neither seen, nor touched, nor tasted, nor felt, nor imagined. It is the doctrine of Suarez, in 3. Tho. disp. 53. sect. 3., and disp. 52. sect. 1., and of Vasquez, in 3. tom. 3. disp. 191. n. 22., which, besides that it reproves the whole article, by making it incredible and impossible, it doth also infinitely convince all these apparitions, if ever there were any, of deceit and fond illusion. I had no more to say in this particular, but that the Roman doctors pretend certain words out of St. Cyril's fourth 'mystagogique catechism,' against the doctrine of this paragraph: "Pro certissimo habeas," &c. "Be sure of this, that this bread, which is seen of us, is not bread, although the taste perceives it to be bread, but the body of Christ; for under the species of bread, the body is given to thee; under the species of wine, the blood is given to thee."—Here if we will trust St. Cyril's words, at least in Bellarmine's and Brerely's sense, and understand of them before you will believe your own eyes, you may. For St. Cyril bids you not believe your sense. For taste and sight tells you it is bread, but it is not. But here is no harm done. 2. For himself plainly explains his meaning in his next catechism. 'Think not, that you taste bread and wine,' saith he.—No, what then? Ἀλλὰ ἀντίτυπα καὶ σώματος καὶ αἵματος, 'but the antitypes of the body and blood:' and in

this very place he calls bread τύπος, 'a type;' ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου δίδοταί σοι τὸ σῶμα, and, therefore, it is very ill rendered by the Roman priests by 'species,' which signifies accidental forms: for τύπος signifies no such thing, but εἶδος; which is not St. Cyril's word. 3. He says it is not bread, though the taste feel it so; that is, 'it is not mere bread,' which is an usual expression among the fathers, 'Non est panis communis,' says Irenæus[t]; οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, says Justin Martyr; just as St. Chrysostom says of baptismal water, 'it is not common water;' and as St. Cyril himself says of the sacramental bread, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, 'it is not mere bread,' ἀλλὰ σῶμα Κυρίου, 'but the Lord's body.'—For if it were not that, in some sense or other, it were still mere bread, but that it is not. But this manner of speaking is not unusual in the holy Scriptures, that restrained and modificated negatives be propounded in simple and absolute forms. "I have given them statutes which are not good[u]." "I will have mercy and not sacrifice[x]." "They have not rejected thee, but me[y]." "It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father." "I came not to send peace, but a sword[z]." "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me." And, "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true[a]," which is expressly confronted by St. John[b]: "Though I bear record of myself, yet my record is true;" which shows manifestly, that the simple and absolute negative in the former place, must, in his signification, be restrained. So St. Paul speaks usually: "Henceforth I know no man according to the flesh[c]." "We have no strife against flesh and blood[d]." And in the ancient doctors, nothing more ordinary than to express limited senses by unlimited words; which is so known, that I should lose my time, and abuse the reader's patience, if I should heap up instances. So Irenæus: "He that hath received the Spirit, is no more flesh and blood, but spirit."—And Epiphanius affirms the same of the flesh of a temperate man: "It is not flesh, but is changed into spirit:" so we say of a drunken man, and a furious person: "He is not a man, but a beast."—And they speak thus particularly

[t] Lib. iv. contr. Hæres. c. 34. Psal. xxii. homil. 16.
[u] Ezek. xx. 25. [x] Hos. vi. 6. [y] 1 Sam. viii. 7.
[z] S. Matt. x. 20, and 34. [a] S. John, v. 31. [b] Cap. viii. 14.
[c] 2 Cor. v. 16. [d] Ephes. vi. 12.

in the matter of the holy sacrament, as appears in the instances above reckoned, and in others respersed over this treatise. But to return to the present objection, it is observable that St. Cyril does not say 'it is not bread, though the sense suppose it to be so, for that would have supposed the taste to have been deceived, which he affirms not; and if he had, we could not have believed him; but he says, 'though the sense perceive it to be bread,' so that it is still bread, else the taste would not perceive it to be so; but 'it is more,' and the sense does not perceive it; for it is 'the body of our Lord.' Here, then, is his own answer plainly opposed to the objection; he says, 'it is not bread,' that is, 'it is not mere bread;' and so say we: he says, that 'it is the body of our Lord, ἀντίτυπον, the antitype of the Lord's body,' and so say we; he says, 'the sense perceives it to be bread;' but it is more than the sense perceives; so he implies, and so we affirm; and yet we may trust our sense for all that it tells us, and our understanding too, for all it learns besides. The like to this are the words of St. Chrysostom[e], where he says, "We cannot be deceived by his words; but our sense is often deceived; look not at what is before us, but observe Christ's words. Nothing sensible is given to us, but things insensible, by things sensible," &c. This, and many higher things than this, are in St. Chrysostom, not only relating to this, but to the other sacrament also. "Think not thou receivest the body from a man, but fire from the tongue of a seraphim;" that for the eucharist:—and for the baptism this: "The priest baptizes thee not, but God holds thy head." In the same sense that these admit, in the same sense we may understand his other words; they are tragical and high, but may have a sober sense; but literally they sound a contradiction; that nothing sensible should be given us in the sacrament; and yet that nothing insensible should be given, but what is conveyed by things sensible; but it is not worth the while to stay here: only this, the words of St. Chrysostom are good counsel, and such as we follow; for, in this case, we do not finally rely upon sense, or resolve all into it; but we trust it only for so much as it ought to be trusted for; but we do not finally rest upon it, but upon faith, and

[e] Homil. 83. upon St. Matt.

look not on the things proposed, but attend to the words of Christ, and though we see it to be bread, we also believe it to be his body, in that sense which he intended.

SECTION XI.

The Doctrine of Transubstantiation is wholly without, and against Reason.

1. When we discourse of mysteries of faith and articles of religion, it is certain that the greatest reason in the world, to which all other reasons must yield, is this,—'God hath said it, therefore it is true.' Now if God had expressly said, 'This which seems to be bread, is my body in the natural sense,' or to that purpose, there had been no more to be said in the affair; all reasons against it had been but sophisms; when Christ hath said, 'This is my body,' no man that pretends to Christianity, doubts of the truth of these words, all men submitting their understanding to the obedience of faith: but since Christ did not affirm, that he spake it in the natural sense, but there are, not only in Scripture, many prejudices, but in common sense much evidence against it, if reason also protests against the article, it is the voice of God, and to be heard in this question. For,

Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit[a].

And this the rather, because there are so many ways to verify the words of Christ, without this strange and new doctrine of transubstantiation, that in vain will the words of Christ be pretended against reason; whereas the words of Christ may be many ways verified, if transubstantiation be condemned: as, first, if Picus Mirandula's proposition be true, which in Rome he offered to dispute publicly, that 'Paneitas possit suppositare corpus Domini,' which I suppose, if it be expounded in sensible terms, means, 'that it may be bread and Christ's body too;' or, secondly, if Luther's and the ancient schoolmen's ways be true, that Christ's body be present together with the bread;—in that sense Christ's

[a] Juven. Sat. xiv. 2.

words might be true, though no transubstantiation; and this is the sense, which is followed by the Greek church. 3. If Boquinus's way be true, that between the bread and Christ's body there were a communication of proprieties, as there is between the Deity and humanity of our blessed Saviour; then, as we say, 'God gave himself for us,' and the blessed virgin is Θεοτόκος, 'the mother of God,' and 'God suffered and rose again,' meaning, that God did it according to his supposed humanity,—so we may say, 'this is Christ's body,' by the communication of the idioms or proprieties to the bread, with which it is united. 4. If our way be admitted, that Christ is there after a real spiritual manner; the words of Christ are true, without any need of admitting transubstantiation. 5. I could instance, in the way of Johannes Longus, in his annotations upon the second apology of Justin Martyr, "Hoc est corpus meum," that is, "My body is this," 'is nourishment spiritual, as this is natural.' 6. The way of Johannes Campanus would afford me a sixth instance, "Hoc est corpus meum," that is, 'meum' as it is 'mea creatura.' 7. Johannes à Lasco, Bucer, and the Socinians, refer 'hoc' to the whole ministry, and mean that to be representative of Christ's body. 8. If Rupertus the abbot's way were admitted, which was confuted by Algerus, and is almost like that of Boquinus, that, between Christ's body and the consecrate symbols there was an hypostatical union, then both substances would remain, and yet it were a true proposition to affirm of the whole hypostasis, 'this is the body of Christ.' —Many more I could reckon; all which, or any of which, if it were admitted, the words of Christ stand true and uncontradicted; and, therefore, it is a huge folly to quarrel at them, that admit not transubstantiation, and to say, they deny the words of Christ. And, therefore, it must not now be said, 'Reason is not to be heard against an article of faith;' for that this is an article of faith, cannot nakedly be inferred from the words of Christ, which are capable of so many meanings. Therefore, reason, in this case, is to be heard by them, that will 'give a reason of their faith;' as it is commanded in Scripture; much less is that to be admitted, which Fisher or Flued, the jesuit, was bold to say to king James; that because transubstantiation seems so much against reason, therefore it is to be admitted, as if faith were more

faith for being against reason. Against this, for the present, I shall oppose the excellent words of St. Austin[b]: "Si manifestissimæ certæque rationi velut Scripturarum sanctarum objicitur auctoritas, non intelligit qui hoc facit, et non Scripturarum illarum sensum, ad quem penetrare non potuit, sed suum potiùs objicit veritati: nec quod in eis, sed quod in seipso, velut pro eis, invenit, opponit:" "He that opposes the authority of the holy Scriptures against manifest and certain reason, does neither understand himself nor the Scripture." Indeed, when God hath plainly declared the particular, the more it seems against my reasons, the greater is my obedience in submitting; but that is, because my reasons are but sophisms, since truth itself hath declared plainly against them: but if God hath not plainly declared against that which I call reason, my reason must not be contested, by a pretence of faith, but upon some other account; "Ratio cum ratione concertet."

3. Secondly; But this is such a fine device, that it can, if it be admitted, warrant any literal interpretation against all the pretences of the world: for when Christ said, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out;"—Here are the plain words of Christ: And, "Some make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven;"—nothing plainer in the grammatical sense: and why do we not do it? Because it is an unnatural thing to mangle our body for a spiritual cause, which may be supplied by other more gentle instruments. Yea, but reason is not to be heard against the plain words of Christ, and the greater our reason is against it, the greater excellency in our obedience; that as 'Abraham, against hope, believed in hope,' so we, against reason, may believe in the greatest reason, the Divine revelation: and what can be spoken against this?

4. Thirdly; Stapleton, confuting Luther's opinion of consubstantiation, pretends against it many absurdities drawn from reason[c]; and yet it would have been ill taken, if it should have been answered, that 'the doctrine ought the rather to be believed, because it is so unreasonable;'—which answer is something like our new preachers, who pretend,

[b] Ep. 7.

[c] Prompt. Cath. ser. 3. hebd. Sanct. sec. 3. in hæc verba: Hoc est corpus meum.

that therefore they are spiritual men, because they have no learning; they are to confound the wise, because they are the weak things of the world; and that they are to be heard the rather, because there is the less reason they should;—so crying stinking fish, that men may buy it the more greedily. But I will proceed to the particulars of reason in this article; being contented with this, that if the adverse party shall refuse this way of arguing, they may be reproved by saying, 'they refuse to hear reason,'—and it will not be easy for them, in despite of reason, to pretend faith; for ἄτοποι, and μὴ ἔχοντες πίστιν, 'unreasonable men,' and 'they that have not faith,' are equivalent in St. Paul's expression[d].

5. First; I shall lay this prejudice in the article, as relating to the discourses of reason; that in the words of institution, there is nothing that can be pretended to prove the conversion of the substance of bread into the body of Christ, but the same will infer the conversion of the whole into the whole; and therefore of the accidents of the bread into the accidents of the body. And, in those little pretences of philosophy, which these men sometimes make to cozen fools into a belief of the possibility, they pretend to no instance, but to such conversions, in which, if the substance is changed, so also are the accidents: sometimes the accident is changed in the same remaining substance; but if the substance be changed, the accidents never remain the same individually; or in kind, unless they be symbolical, that is, are common to both, as in the change of elements, of air into fire, of water into earth. Thus when Christ changed water into wine, the substances being changed, the accidents also were altered, and the wine did not retain the colour and taste of water; for then, though it had been the stranger miracle, that wine should be wine, and yet look and taste like water,—yet it would have obtained but little advantage to his doctrine and person, if he should have offered to prove his mission by such a miracle. For if Christ had said to his guests; 'To prove that I am come from God, I will change this water into wine;' well might this prove his mission: but if, while the guests were wondering at this, he should proceed and say, 'Wonder ye not at this, for I will do a stranger thing

[d] 2 Thess. iii. 2.

than it, for this water shall be changed into wine, and yet I will so order it, that it shall look like water, and taste like it, so that you shall not know one from the other:' Certainly this would have made the whole matter very ridiculous; and indeed it is a strange device of these men to suppose God to work so many prodigious miracles, as must be in transubstantiation, if it were at all,—and yet that none of these should be seen; for to what purpose is a miracle, that cannot be perceived? It can prove nothing, nor do any thing, when itself is not known whether it be or no. When bread is turned into flesh, and wine into blood, in the nourishment of our bodies (which I have seen urged for the credibility of transubstantiation), the bread, as it changes his nature, changes his accidents too, and is flesh in colour, and shape, and dimensions, and weight, and operation, as well as it is in substance. Now let them rub their foreheads hard, and tell us, it is so in the holy sacrament. For if it be not so, then no instance of the change of natural substances, from one form to another, can be pertinent: for, 1. Though it be no more than is done in every operation of a body, yet it is always with change of their proper accidents; and then 2. It can, with no force of the words of the institution, be pretended, that one ought to be, or can be, without the other. For he that says, this is the body of a man, says that it hath the substance of a human body, and all his consequents, that is, the accidents: and he that says, this is the body of Alexander, says (besides the substance) that it hath all the individuating conditions, which are the particular accidents; and therefore Christ, affirming this to be his body, did as much affirm the change of accidents as the change of substance: because that change is naturally and essentially consequent to this. Now if they say, 'they therefore do not believe the accidents of bread to be changed, because they see them remain;' I might reply, 'Why will they believe their sense against faith?' since there may be evidence, but here is certainty; and it cannot be deceived, though our eyes can: and it is certain, that Christ affirmed it without distinction of one part from another, of substance from his usual accidents. "This is my body:" 'Hoc,' 'Hîc,' 'Nunc,' and 'Sic.'—Now, if they think their eyes may be credited for all the words of our blessed Saviour, why shall

not their reason also? or is it nothing so certain to the understanding, as any thing is to the eye? If, therefore, it be unreasonable to say, that the accidents of bread are changed against our sense, so it will be unreasonable to say, that the substance is changed against our reason; not but that God can, and does often change one substance into another, and it is done in every natural production of a substantial form; but that we say it is unreasonable, that this should be changed into flesh, not to flesh simply, for so it is when we eat it;—nor into Christ's flesh simply, for so it might have been, if he had, as it is probable he did, eaten the sacrament himself,—but into that body of Christ, which is in heaven; he remaining there, and being whole and impassible, and unfrangible, this, we say, is unreasonable and impossible: and that is now to be proved.

6. Secondly; In this question, when our adversaries are to cozen any of the people, they tell them, the protestants deny God's omnipotency,—for so they are pleased to call our denying their dreams: and this device of theirs to escape is older than their doctrine of transubstantiation; for it was the trick of the Manichees, the Eutychians, the Apollinarists, the Arians, when they were confuted by the arguments of the catholics, to fly to God's omnipotency; *ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξειργόμενοι λογισμῶν καταφεύγουσι ἐπὶ τὸ δυνατὸν εἶναι Θεῷ*, says Nazianzen[e], and it was very usually by the fathers called the sanctuary of heretics: "Potentia (inquiunt) ei hæc est, ut falsa sint vera: mendacis est, ut falsum dicat verum, quod Deo non competit," saith St. Austin: "They pretend it to belong to God's power to verify their doctrine, that is, to make falsehood truth; that is not power, but a lie, which cannot be in God:" and this was older than the Arians; it was the trick of the old tragedians; so Plato told them; *ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι, θεοὺς αἴροντες*[f]: which Cicero rendering, says, "Cum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum:" "When you cannot bring your argument about, you fly to the power of God[g]."—But when we say, this is impossible to be done, either we mean it naturally

[e] Orat. 51. Theodor. dial. ἀτρεπτ. Tertull. contr. Praxeam. c. x. 79. Vet. et Nov. Testam.

[f] In Cratylo, p. 274. D. Ed. Lugd.

[g] De Nat. Deor. lib. i. 20. Creuzer, p. 88.

or ordinarily impossible; that is, such a thing which cannot, without a miracle, be done; as a child cannot, with his hands, break a giant's arm, or a man cannot eat a millstone, or, with his finger, touch the moon. Now, in matters of religion, although to show a thing to be thus impossible is not enough to prove it was not at all, if God said it was; for although to man it be impossible, yet to God all things are possible; yet when the question is of the sense of the words of Scripture, which are capable of various interpretations, he that brings an argument 'ab impossibili' against any one interpretation, showing that it infers such an ordinary impossibility, as cannot be done without a miracle, has sufficiently concluded, not against the words, for nothing ought to prejudice them,—but against such an interpretation, as infers that impossibility. Thus when, in Scripture, we find it recorded that Christ was born of a Virgin,—to say this is impossible, is no argument against it; because although it be naturally impossible (which I think is demonstrable against the Arabian physicians), yet to him that said it, it is also possible to do it. But then if from hence any man shall obtrude as an article of faith, that the blessed Virgin Mother was so a virgin, that her holy Son came into the world without any aperture of his mother's womb, I doubt not but an argument 'ab impossibili' is a sufficient conviction of the falsehood of it; though this impossibility be only an ordinary and natural; because the words of Scripture, affirming Christ to be born of a virgin, say only that he was not begotten by natural generation; not that his egression from his mother's womb made a penetration of dimensions.—To instance once more: The words of Scripture are plain, that Christ is 'man,' that Christ is 'God;' here are two natures, and yet but one Christ; no impossibility ought to be pretended against these plain words, but they must be sophisms, because they dispute against truth itself. But now if a Monothelite shall say, that, by this unity of nature, God hath taught an unity of wills in Christ, and that he had but one will, because he is but one person: I do not doubt but an argument from an ordinary and natural impossibility will be sufficient to convince him of his heresy; and, in this case, the Monothelite hath no reason to say, that the orthodox Christian denies God's omnipotency, and says, that God cannot unite the will

of Christ's humanity to the will of his divinity: and this is true in every thing, which is not declared minutely, and in his particular sense. There is ordinarily no greater argument in the world, and none better is commonly used, nor any better required, than to reduce the opinion to an impossibility; for if this be not true without a miracle, you must prove your extraordinary, and demonstrate your miracle; which will be found to be a new impossibility. A sense, that cannot be true without a miracle to make it so, it is a miracle if it be true; and, therefore, let the literal sense in any place be presumed, and have the advantage of the first offer or presumption; yet if it be ordinarily impossible to be so, and without a miracle cannot be so, and the miracle no where affirmed, then to affirm the literal sense is the hugest folly that can be, in the interpretation of any Scriptures.

7. But there is an impossibility which is absolute, which God cannot do, therefore, because he is Almighty; for to do them were impotency, and want of power; as God cannot lie,—he cannot be deceived,—he cannot be mocked,—he cannot die,—he cannot deny himself,—nor do unjustly:—And I remember, that Dionysius brings in (by way of scorn) Elymas, the sorcerer, finding fault with St. Paul for saying God could not deny himself; as if the saying so, were denying God's omnipotency; so Elymas objected; as is to be seen in the book de Divin. Nom. c. 8. And by the consent of all the world it is agreed upon this expression, 'That God cannot reconcile contradictions;' that is, it is no part of the Divine omnipotency to make the same proposition true and false, at the same time, in the same respect; it is absolutely impossible, that the same thing should be and not be, at the same time,—that the same thing, so constituted in his own formality, should lose the formality or essential affirmative; and yet remain the same thing. For it is absolutely the first truth, that can be affirmed in metaphysical notices, 'Nothing can be, and not be.' This is it, in which all men and all sciences, and all religions are agreed upon, as a prime truth in all senses, and without distinctions. For if any thing could be, and not be, at the same time,—then there would be something whose being were not to be. Nay, Dominicus à Soto affirms expressly [b], that not only things only cannot be

[b] Quæst. in Phys. lib. 3. q. 4.

done by God, which, intrinsically, formally, and expressly, infer two contradictories, but those also, which the understanding, at the first proposal, does, by his natural light, dissent from, and can by no means admit; because that which is so repugnant to the understanding, naturally does "suâ naturâ repugnare," "is impossible in the nature of things;" and therefore, when it is said in St. Luke, 'nothing is impossible with God,' it is meant; 'Nothing is impossible, but that which naturally repugns to the understanding.'

Now to apply this to the present question; our adversaries do not deny, but that in the doctrine of transubstantiation, there are a great many impossibilities, which are such naturally and ordinarily; but, by Divine power, they can be done; but that they are done, they have no warrant, but the plain literal sense of the words of "Hoc est corpus meum." Now this is so far from proving, that God does work perpetual miracles to verify the sense of it, that the working of miracles ought to prove that to be the sense of it. Now the probation of a proposition by miracles is an open thing, clear as thunder; and being a matter of sense, and, consequently, more known than the thing which they intend to prove, ought not to be proved by that, which is the thing in question. And therefore to say, that God will work a miracle rather than his words should be false, is certain, but impertinent: for concerning the words themselves there is no question, and therefore now no more need of miracles to confirm them; concerning the meaning of them is the question; they say this is the meaning.—Quest. How do you prove it, since there are so many impossibilities in it naturally and ordinarily? Answ. Because God said it, therefore it is true.—Resp. Yea, that God said the words we doubt not, but that his words are to be understood in your sense, that I doubt; because, if I believe your sense, I must admit many things ordinarily impossible. Answ. Yea, but nothing is impossible to God.—Resp. True; nothing that can be done, exceeds his power: but supposing this absolutely possible, yet how does it appear, that God will do a miracle to verify your sense, which, otherwise, cannot be true; when, without a miracle, the words may be true in many other senses? 'Jam dic, Posthume:' for it is hard, that men, by a continual effort and violence, should maintain a proposition

against reason and his unquestionable maxims, thinking it sufficient to oppose against it God's omnipotency; as if the cry out 'a miracle' were a sufficient guard against all absurdity in the world: as if the wisdom of God did arm his power against his truth, and that it were a fineness of spirit to be able to believe the two parts of a contradiction, and all upon confidence of a miracle, which they cannot prove. And indeed it were something strange, that thousands and thousands of times, every day for above fifteen hundred years together, the same thing should be done, and yet this should be called a miracle, that is, a daily extraordinary: for by this time it would pass into nature and a rule, and so become a supernatural natural event, an extra regular rule, an extraordinary ordinary, a perpetual wonder, that is, a wonder and no wonder: and therefore I may infer the proper corollaries of this argument, in the words of Scotus[1], whose opinion it was pity it could be overborne by tyranny. 1. 'That the truth of the eucharist may be saved without transubstantiation:' and this I have already proved. 2. 'The substance of bread, under the accidents, is more a nourishment than the accidents themselves; and, therefore, more represents Christ's body in the formality of spiritual nourishment.' And indeed, that I may add some weight to these words of Scotus, which are very true and very reasonable;—1. It cannot be told, why bread should be chosen for the symbol of the body, but because of his nourishing faculty, and that the accidents should nourish without substance, is like feeding a man with music, and quenching his thirst with a diagram. 2. It is fantastical and mathematical bread, not natural, which, by the doctrine of transubstantiation, is represented on the table, and, therefore, unfit to nourish or to typify that which can. 3. Painted bread might as well be symbolical as the real, if the real bread become no bread: for then that which remains, is nothing but the accidents, as colour and dimensions, &c. But Scotus proceeds. 3. 'That understanding of the words of institution, that substance of bread is not there, seems harder to be maintained; and to it more inconveniences are consequent, than by putting the substance of bread to be there.' 4. Lastly, 'It is a wonder why, in

[1] Sent. 4. dist. 11. q. 3. tit. b.

one article, which is not a principal article of faith, such a sense should be affirmed, for which faith is exposed to the contempt of all that follow reason[k]: and all this is, because in transubstantiation there are many natural and ordinary impossibilities. "In hâc conversione sunt plura difficiliora quàm in creatione," said Aquinas; "There are more difficulties in this conversion of the sacrament, than in the whole creation."

9. But then, because we are speaking concerning what may be done by God, it ought to be considered that it is rash and impudent to say, that the body of Christ cannot, by the power of God, who can do all things, be really in the sacrament, without the natural conversion of bread into him. "God can make, that the body of Christ should be 'de novo' in the sacrament of the altar, without any change of itself, and without the change of any thing into itself, yet some change being made about the bread, or something else." They are the words of Durand[l]. Cannot God in any sense make this proposition true; 'This bread is the body of Christ,' or 'this is bread and Christ's body too?' If they say, he cannot,—then it is a clear case, who it is that denies God's omnipotency. If God can, then how will they be able from the words of Scripture to prove transubstantiation? This also would be considered.

10. But now concerning impossibilities,—if it absolutely can be evinced, that this doctrine of transubstantiation does affirm contradictions, then it is not only an intolerable prejudice against the doctrine, as is the ordinary and natural impossibility; but it will be absolutely impossible to be true; and it derogates from God to affirm such a proposition in religion, and much more to adopt it into the body of faith. And, therefore, when St. Paul had quoted that place of Scripture; "He hath put all things under him;" he adds, "It is evident, that he is excepted, who did put all things under him;" for if this had not been so understood, then he should have been under himself, and he that gave the power, should be lessened, and be inferior to him that received it; which because they infer impossibilities, like those which are consequent to transubstantiation, St. Paul

[k] 3. q. 75. art. 2. ad. 3. [l] Sent. 4. dist. 11. q. 1.

makes no more of it but to say, 'The contrary is manifest,' against the unlimited literal sense of the words. Now for the eviction of this, these two mediums are to be taken. The one, that 'this doctrine affirms that of the essence, or existence of a thing, which is contrary to the essence or existence of it, and yet that the same thing remains; that is, that the essence remains without the essence, that is, without itself:'—The other, that 'this doctrine makes a thing to be and not to be, at the same time:' I shall use them both, but promiscuously, because they are reducible to one.

11. The doctrine of transubstantiation is against the nature and essence of a body. Bellarmine seems afraid of this; for immediately before, he goes about to prevaricate about 'the being of a body in many places at once;' he says[m], that if the essence of things were evidently and particularly known, then we might know what does, and what does not imply a contradiction; but, 'id non satis constat,' 'there is no certainty of that;' by that pretended uncertainty making way, as he hopes, to escape from all the pressure of contradictions, that lie upon the prodigious philosophy of this article: but we shall make a shift so far to understand the essence of a body, as to evince this doctrine to be full of contradictions.

12. First; For Christ's body, his natural body is changed into a spiritual body; and it is not now a natural body, but a spiritual; and, therefore, cannot be now in the sacrament after a natural manner, because it is so no where; and, therefore, not there; "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." And, therefore, though this spirituality be not a change of one substance into another, yet it is so a change of the same substance, that it hath lost all those accidents, which were not perfective nor constitutive, but imperfect and separable from the body; and, therefore, in no sense of nature can it be manducated. And here is the first contradiction. The body of Christ is the sacrament. The same body is in heaven. In heaven it cannot be broken naturally; in the sacrament, they say, it is broken naturally and properly; therefore, the same body is and is not, it can and it cannot be broken. To this they answer, that 'this is

[m] Lib. 3. Euch. c. 2. Sect. ult.

broken under the species of bread; 'not in itself;' Well! is it broken, or is it not broken? let it be broken under what it will,—if it be broken, the thing is granted. For if being broken under the species, it be meant that the species be broken alone, and not the body of Christ,—then they take away in one hand, when they reach forth with the other. This being a better argument, 'The species only are broken, the species are not Christ's body, therefore, Christ's body is not broken:' better I say than this, 'The body of Christ is under the species; the species alone are broken; therefore, the body of Christ is broken.' For how can the breaking of species or accidents infer the breaking of Christ's body, unless the accidents be Christ's body, or inseparable from it? or rather, how can the breaking of the accidents infer the breaking of Christ's body, when it cannot be broken? To this I desire a clear and intelligible answer. Add to this, how can species, that is, accidents, be broken, but when a substance is broken? for an accident properly, such as smell, colour, taste, hath of itself no solid and consistent, nor indeed any fluid parts,—nothing whereby it can be broken, and have a part divided from a part; but as the substance, in which the accident is subjected, becomes divided, so do the inherent accidents; but no otherwise: and if this cannot be admitted, men cannot know what one another say or mean; they can have no notices of things or regular propositions.

13. Secondly; but I demand, when we speak of a body, what we mean by it? For, in all discourses and intercourses of mankind, by words we must agree concerning each other's meaning: when we speak of a body, of a substance, of an accident, what does mankind agree to mean by these words? All the philosophers, and all the wise men in the world, when they divide a substance from an accident, mean by a substance, that which can subsist in itself, without a subject of inherence.

But an accident is "that, whose very essence is to be in another[n]:' when they speak of a body and separate it from a spirit, they mean that a spirit is that, which hath no

[n] Aristot. lib. i. posterior c. 6. et lib. ii. c. 10. Metaph. lib. vi. c. 4. Idem significatur per ipsum nomen συμβεβηκὸς; quod abit cum substantiâ, ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐστιν, receptum scilicet in subjecto. Accidens quod accidit.

material, divisible parts, physically; that which hath nothing of that which makes a body, that is, extension, limitation by lines, and superficies and material measures. The very first notion and conception of things teaches all men, that what is circumscribed and measured by his proper place, is there and no where else. For if it could be there, and be in another place, it were two, and not one. A finite spirit can be but in one place, but it is there without circumscription; that is, it hath no parts measured by the parts of a place; but is there after another manner than a body, that is, it is in every part of his definition or spiritual location. So it is said, a soul is in the whole body; not that a part of it is in the hand, and a part of it in the eye, but it is whole in the whole, and whole in every part; and it is true that it is so, if it be wholly immaterial: because that which is spiritual and immaterial, cannot have material parts. But when we speak of a body, all the world means that, which hath a finite quantity, and is determined to one place. This was the philosophy of all the world, taught in all the schools of the Christians and heathens, even of all mankind, till the doctrine of transubstantiation was to be nursed and maintained, and even after it was born, it could not be forgotten by them, who were bound to keep it. And I appeal to any man of the Roman persuasion, if they can show me any ancient philosopher, Greek, or Roman, or Christian of any nation,—who did not believe it to be essential to the 'being of a body to be in one place:' and Amphitruo in the old comedy, had reason to be angry with Sosia upon this point.

> Tun' id dicere audes? quod nemo unquam homo antehac
> Vidit, nec potest fieri, tempore uno,
> Homo idem duobus locis ut simul sit*?

And, therefore, to make the body of Christ to be in a thousand places at once, and yet to be but one body,—to be in heaven, and to be upon so many altars,—to be on the altar in so many round wafers,—is to make a body to be a spirit, and to make a finite to be infinite; for nothing can be so but an infinite Spirit.

14. Neither will it be sufficient to fly here to God's omnipotency: for God can indeed make a body to be a spirit;

* Plaut. Amphitr. act. 2. sc. 1. 16. Schmieder, p. 40.

but can it consist with the Divine Being, to make an infinite substance? Can there possibly be two categorematical, that is, positive substantial infinites? or can it be that a finite should, remaining finite, yet not be finite, but indefinite and in innumerable places at once[p]? God can new create the body, and change it into a spirit; but can a body, remaining a body, be at the same time a spirit? or can it be a body, and yet not be in a place? is it not determined so, that remaining in a place it cannot be out of it? If these things could be otherwise, then the same thing, at the same time, could be a body and a spirit,—limited and unlimited,—wholly in a place, and wholly out of it,—finite, and infinite,—a body, and yet no body,—one, and yet many,—the same, and not the same,—that is, it should not be itself. Now, although God can change any thing from being the thing it is, to become another thing,—yet is it not a contradiction to say, it should be the same it is, and yet not the same? These are the essential, immediate consequents of supposing a body remaining a body, whose essence it is to be finite and determined in one place, can yet, so remaining, be in a thousand places.

Thirdly; The Socinians teach, that our bodies at the resurrection shall be (as they say Christ's body now is) changed substantially. For corruptible and incorruptible, mortal and immortal, natural and spiritual, are substantial differences: and now our bodies being natural, corruptible, and mortal, differ substantially from bodies spiritual, immortal, and incorruptible, as they shall be hereafter, and as the body of our Lord now is. Now I am sure, the church of Rome, allows not of this doctrine in these; neither have they reason for it; but do not they admit that 'in hypothesi,' which they deny 'in thesi?' For is it not a perfect change of substance, that a body from finite is changed to be at least potentially infinite, from being determined in one place to be indefinite and indeterminable? To lose all his essential properties must needs infer a substantial change[q]; and that it is of the essence of a body to be in one place, at least an

[p] ὅπερ σώματι παρεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον εἶναι καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπάρχειν. Plotin. lib. de Anim. apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. lib. 15.

[q] Quomodo erit sol splendore privatus? vel quomodo erit splendor, nisi sol sit à quo defluat? Ignis verò quomodo erit calore carens? vel calor unde manabit, nisi ab igne? Cyril. Alex. lib. i. in 1. c. Joh.

essential propriety, they will not, I suppose, be so impudent as to deny, since they fly to the Divine omnipotency and a perpetual miracle, to make it be otherwise: which is a plain demonstration, that naturally it is so; this, therefore, they are to answer, if they can.

15. But let us see, what Christian philosophy teaches us in this particular. St. Austin is a good probable doctor, and may be trusted for a proposition in natural philosophy. These are his conclusions in this article. "Corpora quæ non possunt esse nisi in loco[r]:" "Bodies cannot be, but in their place."—"Angustias omnipotentiæ corpora patiuntur; nec ubique possunt esse, nec semper; Divinitas autem ubique præstò est[s]:" "The divinity is present every where; but not bodies,—they are not omnipotent:" meaning, it is a propriety of God to be in many places, an effect of his omnipotence.—But more plainly yet; "Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt; et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt;" "If you take from bodies the spaces of place, they will be no where, and if they be no where, they will not be at all[t]:"—and to apply this to the present question, he affirms, "Christus homo, secundùm corpus, in loco est, et de loco migrat; et cum ad alium locum venerit, in eo loco unde venit, non est[u]:" "Christ, as man, according to the body, is in a place, and goes from a place; and when he comes to another place, is not in the place from whence he came."—For besides that so to do is of the verity of Christ's body, that it should have the same affections with ours; according as it is insisted upon in divers places of the Scripture, particularly, St. Luke, xxiv. 39; it is also in the same place, and in the story, apparent, that the case was not altered after the resurrection, but Christ moved finitely by dimensions, and change of places. So Theodoret[x]; "Dominicum corpus incorruptibile resurrexit, et impatibile, et immortale, et divinâ gloriâ glorificatum est, et à cœlestibus adoratur potestatibus; corpus tamen est, priorem habens circumscriptionem:" "Christ's body even after the resurrection is circumscribed as it was before." And, therefore, as it is impious to deny God to be invisible; so it is profane, not to

[r] Serm. Dom. monte. c. 9. [s] In Psal. lxxxvi. [t] Ep. 57.
[u] Tract. 31. in Johan. [x] Dial. 2.

believe and profess the Son of God, in his assumed humility, to be visible, corporeal, and local, after the resurrection: it is the saying of St. Austin[y].

16. And I would fain know how it will be answered, that they attribute to the body of Christ, which is his own creature, the incommunicable attribute of ubiquity, either actually or potentially. For let them say, is it not an attribute of God to be unlimited, and to be undefined by places[z]? St. Austin says it, and it is affirmed by natural reason, and all the world attributes this to God, as a propriety of his own. If it be not his own, then all the world hath been always deceived, till this new generation arose. If it be, let them fear the horrid consequent of giving that to a creature, which is the glory of the Creator. And if they think to escape by saying, that they do not attribute to it actual ubiquity, but potential,—that is, that though he be not, yet he may be every where;—let it be considered, if the argument of the fathers was good (by which they proved the Divinity of the Holy Ghost), 'This is every where; therefore this is God;' is it not also as good to say, 'This may be every where; therefore this may be God?' And then it will be altogether as bad, as any thing can be imagined; for it makes the incommunicable attribute of God to be communicable to a creature: and not only so, but it is worse; for it makes, that an actual creature may be a potential god, that is, that there can be a god, which is not eternally a god, that is not a pure act,—a god that is not yet, but that shall have a beginning in time.

17. Fourthly; There was not, in all school divinity, nor in the old philosophy, nor in nature, any more than three natural proper ways of being in a place, 'circumscriptivè,' 'definitivè,' 'repletivè.' The body of Christ is not in the sacrament 'circumscriptively;' because there he could be but in one altar, in one wafer. It is not there 'definitively,' for the same reason, because to be definitively in a place is to be in it, so as to be there, and no where else.—And both these are affirmed by their own Turrecremata[a]; it remains, that it must be 'repletivè' in many places, which we use to attribute

[y] Lib. de Essent. Divinit.

[z] Ἐγὼ δ', ὃ θεοῦ ἐστιν ἴχνος, εἰμὶ πανταχοῦ.—*Stob.* tit. iii. Grot. p. 117.

[a] Super Decret. 3. part. de Consecrat. d. 2. cap. Quid sit.

to God only, and it is that manner of being in a place, by which God is distinguished from his creatures: but now a fourth word must be invented, and that is 'sacramentaliter;' Christ's body is, 'sacramentally,' in more places than one; which is very true, that is, the sacrament of Christ's body is; and so is his body figuratively, tropically, representatively in being, and really in effect and blessing. But this is not a natural, real being in a place, but a relation to a person; the other three are all the manners of location, which the soul of man could yet ever apprehend.

18. Fifthly; It is essential to a body to have 'partem extra partem,' 'one part without the other,' answering to the parts of his place; for so the eyes stand separate from the hands, and the ears from the feet, and the head from the belly. But in transubstantiation, the whole body is in a point, in a 'minimum naturale,' in the least imaginable crumb of consecrated bread: how, then, shall nose and eyes, and head and hands, be distinct, unless the mutiny of the members be reconciled, and all parties pleased? because the feet shall be the eyes, and the leg shall be the head, and possess each other's dimension and proper cells of dwelling. 'Quod ego non credo,' said an ancient gloss [b]. I will not insist upon the unworthy questions, which this carnal doctrine introduces, viz. whether Christ's whole body be so there, that the prepuce is not wanting? Suarez [c], supposing that as probable, others denying it, but disputing it fiercely; neither will I make scrutiny concerning Christ's bones, guts, hair, and nails; nor suppose the Roman priests to be such καρχαρόδοντες, and to have such 'saws in their mouths:' these are appendages of their persuasion, but to be abominated by all Christian and modest persons, who use to eat not the bodies, but the flesh of beasts, and not to devour, but to worship the body of Christ in the exaltation, and more in the union with his Divinity. But that which I now insist upon is, that, in a body, there cannot be indistinction of parts, but each must possess his own portion of place; and, if it does not, a body cannot be a body, nor distinguished from a spirit.

19. Sixthly; When a body is broken into half, one half

[b] In Decret. de Concil. dist. 2. ubi pars in Glossâ.
[c] In Thom. tom. iii. disp. 51.

is separate from another, and remains divided; but, in the doctrine of transubstantiation, the wafer, which, they say, is Christ's whole body,—if it be broken, is broken into two whole ones, not into the halfs of one; and so there shall be two bodies, if each half make one, and yet those two bodies are but one, and not two. Add to this, if each wafer be Christ's body whole, and the fraction of it makes, that every part is whole Christ; then every communicant can consecrate as well as the priest; for, at his breaking the host in his mouth, why the body should not also become whole to each part in the mouth, as well as to each part in the hand, is one of the unintelligible secrets of this mystery.

20. Aquinas says, that "The body of Christ is not in the sacrament, in the manner of a body, but of a substance, and so is whole in the whole:" well; suppose that for a while: yet, 1. Those substances which are 'whole in the whole,' are, by his own doctrine, neither divisible nor multiplicable; and how, then, can Christ's body be supposed to be multiplicable[d], (for there are no other words to express my meaning, though no words can speak sense according to their doctrine, words not signifying here as every where else, and among them as they did always in all mankind), how can it, I say, be multiplied, by the breaking of the wafer or bread, upon the account of the likeness of it to a substance that cannot be broken, or if it could, yet were not multipliable? But, 2. If Christ's body be there, according to the manner of a substance, not of a body, I demand according to the nature of what substance, whether of a material or an immaterial? If according to the nature of a material substance, then it is commensurate by the dimensions of quantity, which he is now endeavouring to avoid. If according to the nature of an immaterial substance, then it is not a body, but a spirit; or else the body may have the being of a spirit, whilst it remains a body, that is, be a body, and not a body, at the same time. But, 3. To say that a body is there, not according to the nature of a body, but of a 'substance,' is not sense; for besides that, by this answer, it is a body without the nature of a body, it says that it is also there determined by a man-

[d] Corpus Christi est multiplicatum ad omne punctum hostiæ. Tho. Waldens. tom. ii. c. 55. Multiplicatio corporis Christi facta est substantialiter ad omne punctum hostiæ. Id.

ner, and yet that manner is so far from determining it, that it makes it yet more undetermined and general than it was. For 'substance' is the highest genus in that category: and 'corpus' or 'body' is under it, and made more special by a superadded difference. To say, therefore, that a body is there after the manner of a substance, is to say, that, by being specificated, limited, and determined, it becomes not a species, but a genus,—that is, more unlimited by limitations, more generical by his specification, more universal by being made more particular. For impossible is it for wise men to make sense of this business. 3. But besides all this, to be in a place after the manner of a substance, is not to be in a place at all: for 'substantia' hath in it no relation to a place, till it be specificated to a body or a spirit; for 'substantia dicit solùm formalitatem substandi accidentibus et subsistendi per se;' but the capacity of, or relation to, a place, is by the specification of it by some substantial difference. 4. Lastly; to explicate the being in a place, in the manner of a substance, by being whole in the whole, and whole in every part, is to say, that every substance is so; which is notoriously false: for corporal substances are not so; whether spiritual be, is a question not proper for this place.

21. Aquinas[e] hath yet another device to make all whole,—saying, that one body cannot be in divers places 'localiter,' but 'sacramentaliter,' not 'locally,' but 'sacramentally.'—But first I wish the words were sense, and that I could tell the meaning of being in a place locally, and not locally,—unless a thing can be in a place and not in a place,—that is, so to be in, that it is also out: but so long as it is a distinction, it is no matter, it will amuse and make way to escape, if it will do nothing else. But if, by being sacramentally in many places, is meant 'figuratively,' as before I explicated it, then I grant Aquinas's affirmative; Christ's body is in many places sacramentally, that is, it is represented upon all the holy tables or altars in the Christian church. But if by 'sacramentally' he means 'naturally and properly,' then he contradicts himself: for that is it he must mean by 'localiter,' if he means any thing at all. But it matters not what he means; for it is sufficient to me, that he only says it, and

[e] In 4 Sent. d. 44. q. 2. art. 2. q. 3.

proves it not; and that it is not sense; and, lastly, that Bellarmine confutes it[f], as not being home enough to his purpose, but a direct destruction of the fancy of transubstantiation: "Si non possit esse unum corpus 'localiter' in duobus locis, quia divideretur à seipso, profectò non esse possit 'sacramentaliter,' eâdem ratione." I might make advantage of this contestation between two so great patrons of transubstantiation, if I did need it; For Aquinas says, that a body cannot be in two places at once, locally. Bellarmine says, then neither can it 'sacramentally;' it were easy, then, to infer that therefore it is in two places, no way in the world. But I shall not need this.

22. Seventhly: For there is a new heap of impossibilities, if we should reckon that which follows from the multiplication of totalities; I mean of 'the body of Christ,' which is one continual substance, 'one in itself, and divided from every thing else,' as all unity is; and yet every wafer, consecrated, is the whole body of Christ, and yet that body is but one, and the wafers, which are not one, are, every one of them, Christ's body. And how is it possible, that Christ's body should be in heaven, and between it and us are many other bodies interposed, and his body is in none of the intermedials, and that his body should be also here, and yet not joined to that, either by continuity or contiguity, and the same body should be a thousand miles off, and ten thousand bodies between them, and yet all this be but one; that is, how can it be two, and yet be one? For how shall any man reckon two? How can he know, that two glasses of wine are not one? We see them in two places, their continuity divided; there is an intermedial distance, and other bodies interposed, and therefore we, silly men, usually say they are two; but it is strange to see, a man may be confident and yet without reason, when he hath not wit enough to tell two. But then there is not in nature any way for a man to tell two, if this principle be taken from us.

It will also be an infinite, impossible contradiction, which follows the being of a body in two places at once; upon this account: for it will infer that the same body is, at the same time, in the same respect, in order to the same place, both

[f] Ench. lib. iii. c. 3. sect. Quidam tamen. Ibid. sect. Adde quod.

actually and potentially, that is, possessed and not possessed of it, and may go to that place, where it is already. For suppose a body at St. Omers, and the same body, at the same time, at Douay; then that body, which is actually at St. Omers, may yet, at the same time, be going from Douay thither; and then he is, at the same time, there and not there, at his journey's end, and yet on the way thither; that is, in disposition and tendency to that place, where he is already actually, and whither he is arrived before he set out and began his journey; and goes away from Douay before he leaves it.

Add to this, that to be in two places at once, makes the same thing, which is contained in divers places, to be contained in none. For as to be in a place like a body, is to be contained in that place; so to be contained in that place, is to be terminated or bounded by that place; but whatsoever is bounded by a thing, is not without or beyond that bounds; it follows, therefore, that if a body can be entirely without, or beyond that place, in which it is contained, that is without the bounds, then it is bounded and not bounded, it is contained and not contained; that is, it is contained by divers, and it is contained by none.

23. But how can any thing be divided from itself wholly? for either it must be where it is not, or else it must be two. The wit of man cannot devise a shift to make this seem possible. But Bellarmine can[s]; for he says there is a double indivision, or unity, or being: an intrinsical and an extrinsical, a local and an essential; now of these one can be without the other: and though a body have but one unity essential, because it can be but one body, yet it may have more extrinsical or local beings. This is the full sense of his device, if, at least, there be any sense in it. But besides that this distinction is no where taught in any philosophy, a child of his own, still-born, not offered to be proved or made credible; it is, if it be brought into open view from without the curtains of a formal distinction, just as if he had said, 'Whereas you object, that one thing can be but in one place, for whatsoever is in two places is two bodies; you are deceived; for it is true, that one body can be but one, but yet it may be two in

[s] Euch. lib. iii. c. 3. sect. Sed hæc ratio. et c. 4. sect. Sed media via.

respect of place; that is, it is but one in nature, but it may be in two places; and so you are confuted.'— But then if I should reply, 'This answer is but to deny the conclusion, and affirms the thing in question;' there were no more to be said. For that one thing in nature cannot have two adequate places, at the same time, was the conclusion of my argument; and the answer is, 'It can have two, and this is all is said.' 2. But then I would fain know what warrant there is for the real distinction of 'esse essentiale' and 'esse locale' of bodies, as if they were two distinct, separable beings; whereas quantity is inseparable from bodies, and measure from continual quantities, and to be in a place is nothing but to have his quantity measured[h]. 3. To be in a place, is the termination or limit of a quantitative body, and makes it not to be infinite: and if this can be separated by a distinction from a finite body, then something is said; but if a finite body must be finite and not infinite, then to be determined by a place, the proper determination or definition of a quantitative body, is not separable from it. 4. If any man should say that one person cannot be together in two several times, no more than in two several places; this distinction would fetch him in to be of two times together; for there is a double indivision, one in respect of essence, the other in respect of duration, — that intrinsical, this extrinsical; though one man or body hath but one being or essence intrinsical and essential, yet he may have more extrinsical, accidental, and temporary. And really the case, as to this distinction, is all one, and so it is to the argument too: for as two times cannot be together, because of their successive nature, so neither can two places be adapted at once to one body, because of their continual and united nature: unity and quantity continual being as essential to quantitative bodies, as succession is to them, who are measured by time. 5. If one body may possess and fill two places circumscriptively, so that it is commensurate to both of them, or to as many more as it shall chance to be in, then suppose a body of five feet long is in a place at Rome, at Valladolid, at Paris, and at London, in each of these places it must fill a

[h] Substantias enim facis, quibus loca assignas. Tertul. c. 41. contr. Hermeg.

space of five feet long, because it is always commensurate to his place: it will follow, that a body but of five feet long shall fill up the room of twenty feet; which whether it implies not a contradiction, that the same body should be but five feet long, and yet, at the same time, be twenty feet long of the same measure,—let all the geometricians judge. This is such a device, that as one said of the witty drunkenness and arts of the symposiac among the Greeks, that amongst them a dunce could not be drunk: so, in this device, a man had need be very cunning to speak such nonsense, and make himself believe those things, which are against the conceptions of all men in the world, till this new doctrine turned their brains,—and make new propositions and new affirmatives out of old impossibilities. But these people, in all this affair, deal with mankind as if they were beasts, and not reasonable creatures; or as if all their disciples were babies or fools, and that to them it is lawful to say any thing, and having no understanding of their own, they are to efform them as they please.

But to this objection it is answered, that it may have a double sense: that a body of five feet long may fill the space of five feet. One; "So as the magnitude of such a body should be commensurate to that place, and so a body of five feet cannot fill up the spaces of twenty feet: but another way is, so as the magnitude of the body should not be commensurate, but only to the space of five feet, but yet the same magnitude may be twice, or thrice put to such a space, and this may be done."—This is Bellarmine's answer[1]; 'that is, if you consider a body of five feet long, so long as it can but fill five feet space, in that sense it cannot fill twenty. But if you consider it so as it is commensurate to a space, that is, twenty feet, so it cannot be, being but of five feet long.'—That is the sense of his answer, I appeal to all men that can understand common sense. But though it be but of five feet long, yet it may be placed twice or thrice in a space of five feet long; and what then? Then it fills still but a space of five feet long. True in one place; but if it fills five feet at Rome, and at the same time five feet at Valladolid, and five feet at Paris, and five feet at London, I pray are

[1] Euch. lib. iii. c. 4. sect. Respondeo dupliciter potest intelligi, &c.

not four times five twenty? As although the sun have but force to drink up five measures of water in Egypt; and at the same time as much in Arabia, and as much in Ethiopia, and as much in Greece, he, at the same time, drinks up twenty measures, though his whole force, in one place, be but to drink five, and yet still it is but one sun. But besides all this, that the same body be put twice or thrice into a space of five foot, at the same time, is that unreasonable thing, which all the natural and congenite notices of men cry down, and therefore ought not to be said confidently, in a distinction without proof; as if the putting it into a nonsense distinction, could oblige all the world to believe it.

24. Eighthly: but I proceed: Valentia[k] affirms that the fathers prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost by his ubiquity: and it is certain they do so, as appears in St. Athanasius[l], St. Basil[m], St. Ambrose[n], Didymus[o] of Alexandria, St. Cyril[p] of Alexandria, St. Austin[q]; and divers: and yet these men affirm that a body may be in many places, and therefore may be in all, and that it is potentially infinite; is it not evident that they take from the fathers the force of the argument, because ubiquity is communicable to something that is not God; or if be not, why do they give it to a creature? That which can be in many places, can be in all places; for all the reason that forbids it to be in two thousand, forbids it to be in two; and if those cannot determine it to one place, it cannot be determined at all; I mean, 'the nature of a body, his determination to places, his circumscription, continuity, unity, quantity, dimensions.'—Nay, that which is not determined by place, by continuity, nor by his nature, but may be any where, is in his own nature uncircumscribed and indefinite, which is that attribute of God upon which his omnipresence does rely; and that Christ's body is not every where actually, as is the Holy Ghost, it says nothing against this; because he, being a voluntary agent, can restrain the measure of his presence, as God himself does the many manners of his presence. However, that nature is infinite,

[k] De verâ Christi Præsentiâ, l. i. c. 12.
[l] Cont. Arium. disp. inter oper. S. Athanas.
[m] De Spir. S. lib. i. c. 27.
[n] De Spir. S. lib. i. c. 7.
[o] De Spir. S. lib. i.
[p] De Spir. S. Quod non sit creatura.
[q] Cont. Maxim. Arian. ep. lib. iv. c. 31.

that can be every where; and therefore if it can be communicated to a body, to be so, is not proper to God, nor can it prove the Holy Ghost so to be. Of the same nature is that other argument used frequently by the primitive doctors, proving two natures to be in Christ, the divine and the human, and the difference between them is remarked in this, that the divine is in many places, and in all: but the human can be but in one at once. This is affirmed by Origen[r], St. Hilary[s], St. Jerome[t], St. Austin[u], Gelasius[x], Fulgentius[y], and Venerable Bede[z]. But this is but variety of the same dish; if both these can prevail together, then either of them ought to prevail singly.

25. Against all this, and whatsoever else can be objected, it is pretended, that it is possible for a body to be in many distant places at once. For Christ, who is always in heaven, yet appeared to St. Paul on earth, and to many other saints, as to St. Peter, to St. Anthony, to St. Tharsilla, St. Gregory, and I cannot tell who. To this I answer; 1. That in all this there is nothing certain but that Christ appeared to St. Paul; for it may be, he appeared to him in heaven, St. Paul being on earth: for so he did to St. Stephen, as is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles[a]: and from heaven there might only come a voice and a light. 2. It may be, St. Paul saw Christ, when he wrapt up into "the third heavens:" for, that Christ was seen by him, himself affirms; but he says not that he saw him at his conversion; and all that he says he saw then, was, that "he saw a great light and heard a voice[b]." 3. That in case Christ did appear corporally to Saul on earth, it follows not his body was in two places at once. I have the warrant of him, that is willing enough, otherwise, that this argument should prevail: "Quia non est improbabile, Christum, privatim et ad breve tempus, descendisse de cœlo post ascensionem:" "It is not unlikely, that Christ might, privately and for a short time, descend from heaven after his ascension[c];" for when it is said in Scripture that "the heavens

[r] In S. Matt. hom. 33.
[s] Ad Marcel. de 4. quæst.
[t] Lib. x. de Trinit.
[u] Tract. xxx. in Johan.
[x] Disp. contr. Sab. Ar. Phot.
[y] Lib. ii. ad Thrasim. c. 17.
[z] Hom. invent. crucis.
[a] Acts, vii. 55.
[b] Acts, ix. 3. xxii. 6.
[c] Bellar. de Euch. lib. iii. c. 3. sect. 1. Confirmatur.

must receive him till the day of the restitution of all things," it is to be meant 'ordinarily,' and as his place of residence; but that hinders not an extraordinary commigration; as a man may be said to dwell continually in London, and yet sometimes to go into the country to take the air. For the other instances of St. Peter and St. Anthony, and the rest, if I were sure they were true, I would say the same answer would also serve their turn; but as they are, it is not material whether it does or no.

26. Another way of answering is taken from the examples of God and the reasonable soul. Concerning the soul I have these things to say; 1. Whether the soul be whole in every part of the body, and whole in the whole, is presumed by most men, but substantially proved by none, but denied by a great many, and those of the first rank of learned men. 2. If it were, it follows not, that it is in two places or more: because not the hand, nor the foot, is the adequate place of the soul, but the whole body; and, therefore, the usual expression of philosophy, saying, 'The soul is whole in every part,' is not true positively, but negatively; that is, the soul, being immaterial, cannot be cantonized into parts by the division of the body; but positively it is not true. For the understanding is not in the foot, nor the will in the hand: and something of the soul is not organical, or depending upon the body: viz. the pure acts of volition, some little glimpses of intuition, reflexion, and the like. 3. If it were, yet to allege this, is impertinent to their purpose: unless whatsoever is true concerning a spirit, can also be affirmed of a body. 4. When the body is divided into parts, the soul is not multiplied into fantastic or real numbers, as it is pretended in transubstantiation; and, therefore, although the soul were 'whole in every part,' it could do no service in this question; unless it were so whole in each part, as to be whole when each part is divided, for so it is said to be in the eucharist; which, because we say is impossible, we require an instance in something where it is so; but because it is not so in the soul, this instance is not home to any of their purposes. But Bellarmine[4] says, God can make it to be so, that the soul shall remain in the member, that is discontinued

[4] Lib. iii. Euch. c. iii. Sec. ad hoc argumentum.

and cut off. I answer, that God ever did do so, nor he nor any man else can pretend,—unless he please to believe St. Winifred's and St. Denis's walking with their heads in their hands after their decollation; but since we never knew that God did so, and whether it implies a contradiction or no, that it should be so, God hath no where declared; it is sufficient to the present purpose, that it is as much a question, and of itself no more evident than that a body can be conserved in many places: and therefore being as uncertain as the principal question, cannot give faith to it, or do any service. But this is to amuse unwary persons, by seeming to say something, which, indeed, is nothing to the purpose.

27. But that the omnipresence of God should be brought to prove it possible that a body may be in many places, truly though I am heartily desirous to do it, if I could justly, yet I cannot find any colour to excuse it from great impiety. But this I shall add, that it is so impossible, that any body should be in two places, and so impossible to justify this from the immensity of God; that God himself is not, in proper manner of speaking, in two places, he is not capable of being in any place at all, as we understand being in a place; he is greater than all places, and fills all things, and locality, and place; and beings, and relations, are all from him: and therefore they cannot comprehend him. But then, although this immensity of God is beyond the capacity of place, and he can no more be in a place than all the world can be in the bottom of a well,—yet, if God could be limited and determined, it were a contradiction to say that he could be in two places; just as it is a contradiction to say there are two Gods. So that this comparison of Bellarmine's, as it is odious up to the neighbourhood, and similitude of a great impiety, so it is ἀφιλόσοφον, it is 'against that philosophy,' whereby we understand any of the perfective notices of God. But these men would fain prevail by all means, they care not how.

28. But why may we not believe as well the doctrine of transubstantiation in defiance of all the seeming impossibilities, as well as we believe the doctrine of the Trinity, in defiance of greater? To this I answer many things. 1. Because the mystery of the Trinity is revealed plainly in Scripture, but the doctrine of transubstantiation is against it: as

I suppose myself to have plainly proved. So that if there were a plain revelation of transubstantiation, then this argument were good; and if it were possible for ten thousand times more arguments to be brought against it, yet we are to believe the revelation, in despite of them all; but when so much of revelation is against it, and nothing for it, it is but vain to say we may believe this, as well as the doctrine of the Trinity; for so we may as well argue for the heresy of the Manichees; why may we not as well believe the doctrine of the Manichees, in despite of all the arguments brought against it; when there are so many seeming impossibilities brought against the holy Trinity? I suppose, the answer, that I have given, would be thought reasonable to every such pretence. 2. As the doctrine of the holy Trinity is set down in Scripture, and in the Apostles' Creed, and was taught by the fathers of the first three hundred years, I know no difficulties it hath; what it hath met withal since, proceeds from the too curious handling of that which we cannot understand. 3. The schoolmen have so pried into this secret, and have so confounded themselves and the articles, that they have made it to be unintelligible, inexplicable, indefensible in all their minutes and particularities; and it is too sadly apparent in the arguments of the Antitrinitarians, whose sophisms against the article itself, although they are most easily answered, yet as they bring them against the minutiæ and impertinences of the school, they are not so easily to be avoided. But 4. There is not the same reason; because concerning God, we know but very few things, and concerning the mysterious Trinity, that, which is revealed, is extremely little; and it is in general, without descending to particulars: and the difficulty of the seeming arguments against that, being taken from our philosophy, and the common manner of speaking, cannot be apportioned and fitted to so great a secret; neither can that at all be measured by any thing here below. But I hope we may have leave to say we understand more concerning bodies and their nature, than concerning the persons of the holy Trinity: and therefore we may be sure, in the matter of bodies, to know what is, and what is not possible; when we can know no measure of truth or error in all the mysteriousnesses of so high and separate, superexalted secrets, as is that of the holy Trinity. 5. Be-

cause when the church, for the understanding of this secret of the holy Trinity, hath taken words from metaphysical learning, as 'person,' 'hypostasis,' 'consubstantiality,' ὁμοούσιος, and such like,—the words, of themselves, were apt to change their signification, and to put on the sense of the present school. But the church was forced to use such words as she had, the highest, the nearest, the most separate and mysterious. But when she still kept these words to the same mystery, the words swelled or altered in their sense; and were exacted, according to what they did signify amongst men in their low notices; this begat difficulty in the doctrine of the holy Trinity. For better words she had none, and all that which they did signify in our philosophy, could not be applied to this mystery; and therefore we have found difficulty; and shall for ever, till, in this article, the church returns to her ancient simplicity of expression. For these reasons, I conceive, the case is wholly different; and the difficulty and secret of one mystery, which is certainly revealed, cannot warrant us to admit the impossibilities of that, which is not revealed. Let it appear that God hath affirmed transubstantiation, and I, for my part, will burn all my arguments against it, and make public amends. The like also is to be said in the matter of incarnation.

29. But if two bodies may be in one place, then one body may be in two places. Aquinas[e] denies the consequent of this argument; but I, for my part, am careless whether it be true or no. But I shall oppose against it this, 'If two bodies cannot be in one commensurate place, then one body cannot be in two places;' Now concerning this, it is certain, it implies a contradiction that two bodies should be in one place, or possess the place of another, till that be cast forth:

> Quod, nisi inania sint, quâ possent corpora quæque
> Transire, haud ullâ fieri ratione videres[f].

And the great dispute between the scholars of Epicurus and the Peripatetics, concerning vacuity, was wholly upon this account: Epicurus saying, there could be no motion, unless the place were empty; all the other sects saying, that it was enough that it was made empty by the coming of the

[e] In 4. dist. 44. q. 2. 2. 2.

[f] Lucr. l. 1. 357. Eichstadt, p. 17.

new body; all agreeing, that two bodies could not be together, *τὸ γὰρ πλῆρες ἀδύνατον εἶναι δέξασθαι· εἰ δὲ δέξαιτο καὶ δύο, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνδέχοιτο, καὶ ὁπόσα οὖν ἅμα εἶναι σώματα*[g]. All agreed that two bodies could not be together,—and that the first body must be thrust forth by the intromission of the second.

> ——— Quæ, si non esset inane,
> Non tam solicito motu privata carerent,
> Quàm genita omninò nulla ratione fuissent;
> Undique materies quoniam stipata quiesset[h].

For the contrary says, that two bodies are one. For the proper dimensions of a quantitative body are length, breadth, and thickness: Now the extension[i] of the body in these dimensions is measured by the place: for the place is nothing else, but the measuring and limiting of the thing so measured and limited by these measures and limitations of length, breadth, and thickness. Now if two bodies could be in one place, then they must both have one superficies, one length, one thickness; and then either the other hath none, or they are but one body and not two; or else, though they be two bodies, and have two superficies, yet these two superficies are but one: all which are contradictions. Bellarmine[k] says, 'that to be co-extended to a place, is separable from a magnitude or body, because it is a thing that is extrinsical and consequent to the intrinsical extension of parts,—and being later than it, is by Divine power separable.'—But this is as very a sophism as all the rest. For if whatever in nature is later than the substance, be separable from it, then fire may be without heat, or water[l] without moisture; a man can be without time;—for that also is in nature after his essence; and he may be without a faculty of will or understanding, or of affections, or of growing to his state, or being nourished: and then he will be a strange man, who will neither have the power of will or understanding, of desiring or avoiding, of nourishment or growth, or any thing, that can distinguish him from a beast, or a tree, or a stone. For these are all

[g] Arist. lib. iv. *φυσικ. ἀκροάσ.* [h] Lucret. lib. i. 342. Eichstadt, p. 17.
[i] *Σωμάτων γὰρ ἴδιόν ἐστι τὸ ἐκτείνεσθαι.* St. Basil. Seleuc. homil. in Sterem.
[k] De Euch. lib. iii. c. 5. Sect. Secundò observandum.
[l] Quod non possit alterum sine altero intelligi, quemadmodum neque aqua sine humectatione, neque ignis sine calore. Irenæus, lib. ii. c. 14.

later than the essence, for they are essential emanations from it. Thus also quantity can be separated from a substantial body, if every thing that is later than the form, can be separated from it. And therefore nothing of this can be avoided by saying, to fill a place is an act[m]; but these other instances are faculties and powers, and, therefore, the act may better be impeded by Divine power, the thing remaining the same, than by the ablation of faculties. This, I say, cannot justify the trick. 1. Because 'to be extended into parts' is as much an act as 'to be in a place;' and yet that is inseparable from magnitude, and so confessed by Bellarmine. 2. To be in a place is not an act at all, any more than to be created, to be finite, to be limited; and it was never yet heard of, that 'esse locatum,' or 'esse in loco' was reducible to the predicament of action[n]. 3. An act is no more separable than a faculty is, when the act is as essential as the faculty; now for a body to be in a place, is as essential to a body as it is for a man to have understanding; for this is confessed[o] to be separable by Divine power, and the other cannot be more; it cannot be naturally. 4. If to be in a place be an act, it is no otherwise an act, than it is an act for a father actually to have a son, and, therefore, is no more separable this than that; and you may as well suppose a father and no child, as a body and no place. 5. It is a false proposition to say, that place is extrinsical to a quantitative body; and it relies upon the definition Aristotle gives of it in the fourth book of his physics, 'that place is the superficies of the ambient body;' which is as absurd in nature as any thing can be imagined; for then a stone, in the bottom of a river, did change his place (though it lie still) in every instant, because new water still washes it; and by this rule it is necessary (against Aristotle's great grounds) that some quantitative bodies should not be in a place, or else that quantitative bodies were categorimatically infinite. For either there is no end, but body incloses body for ever,—or else the ultimate or utmost body is not inclosed by any thing,—and so cannot be in a place. To which add this; that if Epicurus's opinion were true, and that there were some spaces empty, which, at

[m] Bellar. de Euch. lib. iii. c. 7. Sect. Ad secundum Petr.
[n] Lib. 3. Euch. c. 5. Sect. Secund. obser.
[o] Ibid. c. 7. Sect. Deinde etiam.

least by a Divine power, can become true, and he can take the air out from the inclosure of four walls; in this case, if you will suppose a man sitting in the midst of that room, either that man were in no place at all, which were infinitely absurd;—or else (which indeed is true) circumscription or superficies were not the essence of a place. Place, therefore, is nothing but the space, to which quantitative bodies have essential relation and finition: that, where they consist, and by which they are not infinite: and this is the definition of place, which St. Austin gives in his fourth book Exposit. of Genes. 'ad literam, chap. viii.'

30. God can do what he please, and he can reverse the laws of his whole creation, because he can change or annihilate every creature; or alter the manners and essences; but the question now is, what laws God hath already established, and whether or no essentials can be changed, the things remaining the same? that is, whether they can be the same, when they are not the same? He that says, God can give to a body all the essential properties of a spirit, says true, and confesses God's omnipotency; but he says also, that God can change a body from being a body, to become a spirit; but if he says, that remaining a body it can receive the essentials of a spirit, he does not confess God's omnipotency, but makes this article difficult to be believed, by making it not to work wisely, and possibly. God can do all things; but are they undone, when they are done? that is, are the things changed in their essentials, and yet remain the same? then how are they changed, and then what hath God done to them?

31. But as to the particular question. To suppose a body not co-extended to a place, is to suppose a man alive not co-existent to time; to be in no place, and to be in no time, being alike possible[p]: and this intrinsical extension of parts is as inseparable from the extrinsical, as an intrinsical duration is from time. Place and time being nothing but the essential manners of material complete substances, these cannot be supposed such, as they are, without time and place: because quantitative bodies, in their very formality, suppose that; for place without body in it, is but a notion in logic, but when it is a reality, it is a 'ubi,' and time is 'quando;'

[p] Paschasius Diaconus Eccles. Rom. A. D. 500. lib. i. de Spir. S. cap. 12.

and a body supposed abstractly from place, is not real but intentional, and in notion only,—and is in the category of substance, but not of quantity. But it is a strange thing, that we are put to prove the very principles of nature, and first rudiments of art, which are so plain that they can be understood naturally, but by all devices of the world cannot be made dubitable.

32. But against all the evidence of essential and natural reason, some overtures of Scripture must be pretended. For that two bodies can be in one place appears, because Christ came from his mother's womb, it being closed; into the assembly of the apostles, "the doors being shut;" out of the grave, the stone not being rolled away; and ascended into heaven, through the solid orbs of all the firmament. Concerning the first and the last, the Scripture speaks nothing, neither can any man tell whether the orbs of heaven be solid or fluid, or which way Christ went in. But of 'the heavens opening' the Scripture sometimes makes mention. And the prophet David spake in the spirit, saying, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in."—The stone of the sepulchre was removed by an angel; so saith St. Matthew[1]. But why should it be supposed the angel rolled it away after Christ was risen,—or if he did, why Christ did not remove it himself (who loosed all the bands of death, by which he was held), and there leave it when he was risen? or if he had passed through, and wrought a miracle, why it should not be told us, or why it should not remain as a testimony to the soldiers and Jews, and convince them the more, when they should see the body gone, and yet their seals unbroken? or if it were not, how we should come to fancy it was so, I understand not; neither is there ground for it. There is only remaining that we account concerning Jesus's entering into the assembly of the apostles, "the doors being shut:" To this I answer, that this infers not a penetration of bodies, or that two bodies can be in one place. 1. Because there are so many ways of effecting it without that impossibility. 2. The door might be made to yield to his Creator as easily as water, which is fluid, be made firm under his feet; for

[1] St. Matth. xxviii. 2.

consistence or lability are not essential to wood and water[r]: For water can naturally be made consistent, as when it is turned to ice; and wood, that can naturally be petrified, can, upon the efficiency of an equal agent, be made thin, or labile, or inconsistent. 3. This was done on the same day, in which the sea yielded to the children of Israel, that is, the seventh day after the passover, and we may allow it to be a miracle, though it be no more than that of the waters, that is, as these were made consistent for a time,

> Suppositumque rotis solidum mare[s];

So the doors apt to yield to a solid body.

> ——— possint tamen omnia reddi
> Mollia, quæ fiunt, aer, aqua, terra, vapores,
> Quo pacto fiant, et quâ vi quomque gerantur[t].

4. How easy was it for Christ to pass his body through the pores of it and the natural apertures, if he were pleased to unite them, and thrust the matter into a greater consolidation? 5. Wood, being reduced to ashes, possesses but a little room; that is, the crass impenetrable parts are but few, the other apt for cession, which could easily be disposed by God, as he pleased. 6. The words in the text are *κεκλεισμένων τῶν θυρῶν*, in the past tense; the gates or "doors having been shut;" but that they were shut in the instant of his entry, it says not; they might, if Christ had so pleased, have been insensibly opened, and shut in like manner again; and if the words be observed, it will appear that St. John[u] mentioned the shutting the doors in relation to the apostles' fear; not to Christ's entering: he intended not (so far as appears) to declare a miracle. 7. But if he had, there are ways enough for him to have entered strangely, though he had not entered impossibly. Vain, therefore, is the fancy of those men, who think a weak conjecture able to contest against a perfect, natural impossibility. For when a thing can be done without a penetration of dimensions, and yet by a power great enough

[r] "Αμα γὰρ ὑπεξίσται, ἀλλήλοις ἐνδίχεται, οὐδενὶς ὄντος διαστήματος χωριστοῦ παρὰ τὰ σώματα τὰ κινούμενα· καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν συπχῶν ὑγραις, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὑγρῶν. Arist. lib. 4. φύσικ. ἀκροασ. c. 8. Casaub. p. 223. C.

[s] Juv. x. 176. Ruperti.

[t] Lucret. i. 570. Eichstadt, p. 25.

[u] Chap. xx. 19.

to beget admiration, though without contesting against the unalterable laws of nature, to dream it must be this way, is to challenge confidently, but to be careless of our warrant; I conclude, that it hath never been yet known, that two bodies ever were, at once, in one place.

33. I find but one objection more pretended, and that is, that place is not essential to bodies; because the utmost heaven is a body, and yet is not in a place; because it hath nothing without it, that can circumscribe it. To this I have already answered[x] in the confutation of Aristotle's definition of a place. But besides; I answer, that what the utmost heaven is, our philosophy can tell or guess at; but it is certain that beyond any thing that philosophy ever dreamed of, there are bodies. For Christ "is ascended far above all heavens;" and, therefore, to say it is not in a place, or that there is not a place where Christ's body is, is a ridiculous absurdity. But if there be places for bodies above the highest heavens, then the highest heaven also is in a place, or may be for aught any thing pretended against it. "In my Father's house are many mansions," said Christ, 'many places of abode;' and it is highly probable, that that pavement, where the bodies of saints shall tread to eternal ages, is circumscribed, though by something we understand not. Many things more might be said to this. But I am sorry, that the series of a discourse must be interrupted with such trifling considerations.

34. The sum is this[y]; as substances cannot subsist without the manner of substances; no more can accidents, without the manner of accidents; quantities, after the manner of quantities; qualities, as qualities; for to separate that from either, by which we distinguish them from each other, is to separate that from them, by which we understand them to be themselves. And four may as well cease to be four, and be reduced to unity, as a line cease to be a line, and a body a body, and a place a place, and a 'quantum' or 'extensum' to be extended in his own kind of quantity or extension: and if a man had talked otherwise, till this new device arose, all sects of philosophers of the world, would have thought him mad; and I may here use the words of Cotta in Cicero:

[x] Num. 28. [y] Vide Boeth. in Prædicam. Aristot.

"Corpus quid sit, sanguis quid sit, intelligo: quasi corpus, et quasi sanguis, quid sit, nullo prorsus modo intelligo[z]." But concerning the nature of bodies and quantities, these may suffice in general. For if I should descend to particulars, and insist upon them, I could cloy the reader with variety of one dish.

35. Tenthly: By this doctrine of transubstantiation, the same thing is bigger and less than itself: for it is bigger in one host, than in another; for the wafer is Christ's body, and yet one wafer is bigger than another: therefore Christ's body is bigger than itself. The same thing is above itself, and below itself, within itself, and without itself: it stands wholly upon his own right side, and wholly, at the same time, upon his own left side; it is as very a body, as that which is most divisible, and yet is as indivisible as a spirit; and it is not a spirit but a body; and yet a body is no way separated from a spirit, but by being divisible. It is a perfect body, in which the feet are further from the head, than the head from the breast; and yet there is no space between head and feet at all: so that the parts are further off and nearer, without any distance at all; being further and not further, distant, and yet in every point. By this also here is magnitude without extension of parts; for if it be essential to magnitude to have 'partem extra partem,' that is, 'parts distinguished, and severally sited,' then where one part is, there another is not; and, therefore, the whole body of Christ is not in every part of the consecrated wafer; and yet if it be not, then it must be broken into parts, when the wafer is broken, and then it must fill his place by parts. But then it will not be possible, that a bigger body, with the conditions of a body, should be contained in a less thing than itself;—that a man may throw the house out at the windows: and if it be possible, that a magnitude should be in a point, and yet Christ's body be a magnitude, and yet in a point, then the same thing is in a point, and not in a point; extended, and not extended; great and not divisible; a quantity without dimension; something and nothing. By this doctrine, the same thing lies still and yet moves; it stays in a place and goes away from it; it removes from itself, and yet abides

[z] De Nat. Deor. i. 26. Creuzer, p. 118.

close by itself, and in itself, and out of itself; it is removed, and yet cannot be moved; broken, and cannot be divided; passes from east to west through a middle place, and yet stirs not; it is brought from heaven to earth, and yet is no where in the way, nor ever stirs out of heaven; it ceases to be where it was, and yet does not stir from thence, nor yet cease to be at all; it is removed at the motion of the accidents, and yet does not fall when the host falls; it changes his place, but falls not, and yet the changing of place was by falling. It supposes a body of Christ, which was made of bread[a], that is, "Not born of the Virgin Mary;" it says, that Christ's body is there, without power of moving, or seeing, or hearing, or understanding; he can neither remember nor foresee, save himself from robbers or vermin, corruption or rottenness: it makes that which was raised in power, to be again sown in weakness; it gives to it the attribute of an idol, to have 'eyes and see not, ears and hear not, a nose and not to smell, feet and yet cannot walk[b]. It makes a thing contained bigger than the continent,—and all Christ's body to go into a part of his body; his whole head into his own mouth, if he did eat the eucharist, as it is probable he did, and certain that he might have done. These are the certain consequents of this most unreasonable doctrine, in relation to motion and quantity. I need not instance, in those collateral absurdities, which are appendent to some of the foregoing particulars; as how it should be credible that Christ, in his sumption of the last supper, should eat his own flesh; *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸ ἐπιδέχεται, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἔξωθέν τι*, said Simplicius[c]; nothing can receive itself; nothing can really participate of itself, and properly; figuratively and sacramentally, this may be done; but not in a natural and physical sense; for as St. Cyril[d] of Alexandria argues; "Si verè idem est, quod participat et quod participatur,—quid opus est participatione?" What need he partake of himself? what need he receive a part of that, which he is already whole? and if the partaker, and the thing partaken, be naturally the same, then the sacrament did as much eat Christ, as Christ did eat the sacra-

[a] Bellarm. Euch. lib. iii. c. 10. Sect. Respondeo corpus.—Suarez. in 3. Tho. 9. 76. art. 7. dispens. sect. 4.

[b] Quomodo potest Deus alibi esse vivus, alibi mortuus? Lact. lib. i. c. 1.

[c] Id Categ. cap. de Substant. [d] In S. Joh. ix.

ment. It would also follow from hence, that the soul of Christ should enter into his body, though it were there before it entered; and yet it would now be there twice at the same time; for it is but one soul; and yet enters after it is there, it never having gone forth. Nay further yet,—upon supposition that Christ did eat the sacrament, as it is most likely he did, and we are sure, he might have done,—then the soul of Christ, which certainly went along with his body, which surely was then alive, should be in his body in two contrary and incompatible manners; by one of which he does operate freely, and exercise all the actions of life; by the other, he exercises none; by one he is visible, by the other invisible; by one movable, by the other immovable; by one after the manner of a body, by the other after the manner of a spirit. The one of these being evident in itself, the other by their own affirmation. But these are by the by: there are whole categories of fond and impossible consequents from this doctrine.

36. Eleventhly: But if I should also consider the change of consecration, *i. e.* the conversion of bread into Christ's body, and their rare stratagems and devices in ridiculous affirmatives and negatives as to that particular, it would afford a new heap of matter.

37. For this conversion is not generation; it is not corruption; it is not creation; because Christ's body already is, and cannot be produced again; it is not after the manner of natural conversions, it differs from the supernatural; there is no change of one form into another; the same first matter does not remain under several forms, first of bread, then of Christ's body. It is turned into the substance of Christ's body, and yet nothing of the bread becomes any thing of the body of Christ. It is turned into Christ, and yet it is turned into nothing; the substance is not annihilated (for then it were not turned into Christ's body), and yet it is annihilated or turned to nothing, for it does not become Christ's body; it is determined upon Christ's body, and yet does not become it, though it be changed into it: for if bread could become Christ's body, then bread could receive a greater honour than any of the servants of Christ; for it could be glorified with the biggest glorification, it would be exalted far above all angels; bread should reign for ever, and be king of all the

world; which are honours not communicable to mere man, and by no change can be wrought upon him: and if they may upon bread, then bread is exalted higher than the sons of men; and yet so it is, if it be naturally and substantially changed into the body of Christ. I cannot insist upon any thing of this [e], the absurdity being so vast, the labour would be as great as needless: only I shall transcribe part of a disputation, by which Tertullian [f] proves the resurrection of our bodies, by such words which do certainly confute the Roman fancies of transubstantiation. "Discernenda est autem demutatio ab omni argumento perditionis," &c. "Change must be distinguished from perdition. But they are not distinguished, if the flesh be so changed, that it perishes. As that which is lost, is not changed, so that which is changed, is not lost or perished. For it suffered change, not perdition; for to perish, is wholly not to be that which it was; but to be changed, is only to be otherwise; moreover, while it is otherwise, it can be the same thing, or itself: for it hath his being, which did not perish."—Now how it is possible that these words should be reconciled with transubstantiation, in which they affirm the bread to be changed, and yet totally to have perished; that is, that nothing of it remains, neither matter nor form,—it concerns them to take care; for my part, I am satisfied that it is impossible: and I choose to follow the philosophy of Tertullian, by which he fairly confirms the article of the resurrection; rather than the impossible speculations of these men, which render all notices of men to be mere deceptions, and all articles of faith in many things uncertain, and nothing to be certain but that which is impossible. This consideration so moved Durand [g], and their doctor Fundatissimus, Egidius Romanus [h], that they thought to change the word 'transubstantiation,' and, instead of it, that they were obliged to use the word of 'transformation' simply, affirming that other to be unintelligible. But I proceed. By this doctrine, Christ's body is there where it was not before, and yet not by change of place, for it descends not;—nor by production, for it was

[e] Sola enim mutari transformarique in se possunt, quæ habent unius materiæ commune subjectum. Boeth. de duab. Nat. Christi.

[f] De Resurrectione Carnis. c. 55. [g] In iv. d. 11. q. 3. sect. 5.

[h] Theor. i. 2.

produced before; — not by natural mutation, for Christ himself is wholly immutable, and though the bread be mutable, it can never become Christ. That which is now, and was always, begins to be; and yet it cannot begin, which was so long before. And by this doctrine is affirmed that, which even themselves judge to be simply and absolutely impossible. For if, after a thing hath his being, and during the first being, it shall have every day many new beginnings, without multiplying the beings, — then the same thing is under two times at the same time; it is but a day old, and yet was six days ago, and six ages, and sixteen. The body of Christ obtains to be what it was not before, and yet it is wholly the same, without becoming what it was not. It obtains to be under the form of bread; and that which it is now and was not before, is neither perfective of his being, nor destructive, nor alterative, nor augmentative, nor diminutive, nor conservative. It is, as it were, a production, as it were a creation, as a conservation, as an adduction; that is, it is, as it were, just nothing; for it is not a creation, not a generation, not an adduction, not a conservation. It is not a conversion productive; for no new individual is produced. It is not a conversion conservative; that is a child of Bellarmine's: but it is perfect nonsense; for it is, as he says, a conversion, in which both the terms remain, in the same place; that is, in which there are two things not converted, but not one that is: but it is a thing, of which there never was any example. But then if we ask what conversion it is? after a great many fancies and devices, contradicting each other, at last it is found to be 'adductive,' — and yet that 'adductive' does not change the place, but signifies a substantial change; and yet adduction is no substantial change, but accidental; and yet this change is not accidental, but adductive and substantial. "O rem ridiculam, Cato, et jocosam!" It is a succession, not a conversion and transubstantiation; for it is 'Corpus ex pane confectum,' 'a body made of bread;' and yet it was made before the bread was made: but it is 'made of it as day of night,' not 'tanquam ex materiâ,' but 'tanquam ex termino,' 'not as of matter, but as of a term[1],' from whence, say they, but that is, a direct

[1] Bellarm. de Missa, lib. i. c. 27. Sect. 3. Propositio. Lib. iii. de Euch. cap. ult. sect. ad tertiam. Scotus 4. dist. 11. q. 3.

motion or succession, not a substantial change. For that I I may use the words of Faventinus[k]; "What is the formal term of this action of transubstantiation, or conversion? Not the body of Christ; for that is the material term:" the formal term is, that Christ's body should be contained under the species of bread and wine: "Hoc autem totum est accidentale, et nihil addit in re nisi præsentiam realem sub speciebus:" "But all this is accidental, and nothing real, but that he becomes present there." For since the body of Christ relates to the accidents only accidentally, it cannot, in respect of them, have any substantial manner of being, different from that which it had before it was eucharistical. And it is no otherwise, than if water on the ground were annihilated, or removed, or corrupted, and some secret way changed from thence, and, in the place of it, snow should descend from heaven, or honey, or manna, it were hard to call this conversion, or transubstantiation: just as if we should say, that Augustus Cæsar was converted into his successor, Tiberius, and Moses into Joshua, and Elias into Elisha, or the sentinel is substantially changed into him that relieves him.

38. Twelfthly: Lastly, if we consider the changes, that are incident to the accidents of bread and wine, they would afford us another heap of incommodities: for besides that accidents cannot subsist without their proper subjects, and much less can they become the subjects of other accidents[l], for what they cannot be to themselves, they cannot be to others, in matters of supply and subsistence; it being a contradiction to say, insubsistent subsistencies: — besides this, I say, if Christ's body be not invested with these accidents, how do they represent it, or to what purpose do they remain? If they be the investiture of Christ's body, then the body is changed, by the mutation of the accidents. But however, I would fain know, whether an accident can be sour or be burnt, as Hesychius[m] affirms they used in Jerusalem to do the reliques of the holy sacrament; or can accidents make a man drunk, as Aquinas supposes the sacra-

[k] Faven. in 4 disp. 35. c. 6.

[l] Τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς οὐ συμβεβηκότι συμβεβηκὸς, εἰ μὴ ὅτι ἄμφω συμβέβηκε ταυτῷ. — *Metaph.* lib. iv. c. 4. 1.

[m] In Lev. c. 1.

mental wine did the Corinthians, of whom St. Paul says, "One is hungry, and another is drunken?" I am sure if it can, it is not the blood of Christ; for Mr. Bland's argument, in queen Mary's time, concluded well in this instance. That which is in the chalice, can make a man drunk; but Christ's blood cannot make a man drunk: therefore, that which is in the chalice, is not Christ's blood. To avoid this, they must answer to the major, and say that it does not 'supponere universaliter;' for every thing in the chalice does not make a man drunk,—for in it there are accidents of bread, and the body besides, and they do inebriate, not this; that is, a man may be drunk with colour[n], and quantity, and a smell, when there is nothing that smells[o]; for indeed if there were a substance to be smelt, it might; but that accidents can do it alone, is not to be supposed; unless God should work a miracle to make a man drunk, which to say, I think, were blasphemy. But again, can 'an accidental form' kill a man? But the young emperor of the house of Luxemburgh was poisoned by a consecrated wafer, and pope Victor III. had like to have been, and the archbishop of York was poisoned by the chalice, say Mathew Paris and Malmsbury. And if the body be accidentally moved at the motion of accidents[p], then, by the same reason, it may accidentally become mouldy, or sour, or poisonous; which, methinks, to all Christian ears, should strike horror to hear it spoken. I will not heap up more instances of the same kind of absurdities, and horrid consequences of this doctrine; or consider how a man or a mouse can live upon the consecrated wafers; (as Aimonius tells that Lewis the Fair did, for forty days together, live upon the sacrament; and a Jew, or a Turk, could live on it without a miracle, if he had enough of it), and yet cannot live upon accidents; it being a certain rule in philosophy, "Ex iisdem nutriuntur mixta ex quibus fiunt;" and a man may as well be made of accidents, and be no substance, as well as be nourished by accidents without substance: neither will I inquire,

[n] Τέφρος δὲ καὶ χρῶμα καὶ ὑγρὰ οὐ τρέφει, οὐδὲ ποιὰ οὔτε αὔξησιν, οὔτε φθίσιν.—*Arist. De Anim.* lib. iii. c. 12.

[o] Est enim hic color et sapor, qualitas et quantitas, cùm nihil in alterutro sit coloratum, et sapidum, quantum et quale. Innocent. 3. de Offic. Missæ, lib. iii. c. 21.

[p] Bellar. lib. iii. c. 10. de Euch. Sect. Respondeo corpus.

how it is possible, that we should eat Christ's body without touching it; or how we can be said to touch Christ's body, when we only touch and taste the accidents of bread; or, lastly, how we can touch the accidents of bread, without the substance, so to do being impossible in nature:

Tangere enim aut tangi, nisi corpus, nulla potest res,

said Lucretius[q], and from him Tertullian, in his fifth chapter of his book 'De Animâ.' These, and divers other particulars, I will not insist upon: but instead of them, I argue thus from their own grounds; if Christ be properly said to be touched, and to be eaten, because the accidents are so,—then, by the same reason, he may be properly made hot, or cold, or mouldy, or dry, or wet, or venemous, by the proportionable mutation of accidents: if Christ be not properly taken and manducated, to what purpose is he properly there? so that on either hand there is a snare. But it is time to be weary of all this, and inquire after the doctrine of the church, in this great question; for thither at last, with some seeming confidence, they do appeal. Thither, therefore, we will follow.

SECTION XII.

Transubstantiation was not the Doctrine of the primitive Church.

CONCERNING this topic or head of argument, I have some things to premise.

1. First: In this question, it is not necessary, that I bring a catalogue of all the ancient writers. For, although to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation to be catholic, it is necessary, by Vincentius Lirinensis's rules, and by the thing, that they should all agree; yet to show it not to have been the established, resolved doctrine of the primitive church, this ἀμφίβια is not necessary. Because although no argument can prove it catholic, but a consent; yet if some, as learned, as holy, as orthodox, do dissent, it is enough to

[q] Eichstadt, lib. i. 305. p. 15.

prove it not to be catholic. As a proposition is not universal, if there be one, or three, or ten exceptions; but to make it universal, it must be κατὰ παντὸς, it must take in all.

2. Secondly: None of the fathers speak words exclusive of our way, because our way contains a spiritual sense; which, to be true, our adversaries deny not, but say, it is not sufficient, but there ought to be more. But their words do often exclude the way of the church of Rome, and are not so capable of an answer for them.

3. Thirdly: When the saying of a father is brought, out of which his sense is to be drawn by argument and discourse, by two or three remote uneasy consequences; I do not think it fit to take notice of those words, either for or against us: because then his meaning is as obscure as the article itself, and, therefore, he is not fit to be brought in interpretation of it. And the same also is the case, when the words are brought by both sides; for then it is a shrewd sign, the doctor is not well to be understood, or that he is not fit, in those words, to be an umpire; and of this cardinal Perron is a great example, who spends a volume in folio, to prove St. Austin to be of their side in this article, or rather, not to be against them.

4. Fourthly: All those testimonies of fathers, which are as general, indefinite, and unexpounded, as the words of Scripture which are in question, must, in this question, pass for nothing; and, therefore, when the fathers say, that in the sacrament is 'the body and blood of Christ,'—that 'there is the body of our Lord,'—that before consecration it is ψιλὸς ἄρτος, 'mere bread,' but after consecration it is 'verily the body of Christ, truly his flesh, truly his blood,'—these and the like sayings are no more than the words of Christ, "This is my body;" and are only true in the same sense, of which I have all this while been giving an account: that is, by a change of condition, of sanctification, and usage: We believe—that 'after consecration and blessing, it is really Christ's body, which is verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lord's supper;'—and upon this account, we shall find that many, very many of the authorities of the fathers, commonly alleged by the Roman doctors in this question, will come to nothing. For we speak their sense, and in their own words,—the church of England expressing

this mystery frequently in the same forms of words [a]; and we are so certain that to eat Christ's body spiritually is to eat him really, that there is no other way for him to be eaten really, than by spiritual manducation.

5. Fifthly: When the fathers, in this question, speak of the change of the symbols in the holy sacrament, they sometimes use the words of *μεταβολὴ, μεταῤῥύθμισις, μετασκεύασμος, μεταστοιχείωσις, μεταποίησις*, in the Greek church [b]: 'conversion, mutation, transition, migration, transfiguration,' and the like in the Latin; but they by these do understand accidental and sacramental conversions, not proper, natural, and substantial. Concerning which, although I might refer the reader to see it highly verified in David Blondel's familiar elucidations of the eucharistical controversy, yet a shorter course I can take to warrant it, without my trouble or his; and that is, by the confession of a jesuit, and of no mean fame or learning amongst them. The words of Suarez, whom I mean, are these: "Licet antiqui Patres,' &c. "Although the ancient fathers have used divers names, yet all they are either general, as the names of conversion, mutation, transition; or else they are more accommodated to an accidental change, as the name of transfiguration, and the like: only the name of 'transelementation,' which Theophylact did use, seems to approach nearer to signify the propriety of this mystery, because it signifies a change even of the first elements; yet that word is harder, and not sufficiently accommodate: for it may signify the resolution of one element into another, or the resolution of a mixed body into the elements [c]." He might have added another sense of *μεταστοιχείωσις*, or 'transelementation.' For Thophylact [d] uses the same word to express the change of our bodies to the state of

[a] See article 28 of the Church of England.

[b] *Μεταποιῆσαι νόμους.*—*Suid.* Αἱ φυλακαὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων μετεποιοῦντο εἰς ἱκεσίας. — *Georg. Alex. Vit. Chrys.* c. 55. Οὐδείς ἐστιν ὁ διασκεδάσαι, ἢ τὸν βουλὴν μεταποιῆσαι δυνάμενος.— *Chrys. Vit. Auctor. Anon.* Id. in *μεταζολὴ*, et reliquis observare est *μεταποίει, μεταζάλλω.*— *Suidas.* Μεταστοιχείουσα, *μετασχηματίζουσα, μεταπλάττουσα.* — *Suidas.* Πάντας πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν μεταστοιχείου *μεταῤῥυθμίζων.* — *Auctor Vitæ Chrysost. Anon.* c. 52. *et de corpore Chrysostomi* dixit, *εἰς λίθου φύσιν μετεσκευάσθη.* Ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς, ἤτοι μεταποιήσας.— *Œcumen. in* 1 *Pet.* i. Ἡ διδαχὴ *μεταῤῥυθμίζει* τὸν ἄνθρωπον.— *Clem. Alex.* Strom. 4. Idem. lib. iii. *Pædag.* c. 2. *Μετασκευάζει* τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς πίστιν.

[c] Chap. 5. in 3. disp. 50. sect. 3.

[d] Theoph. in St. Luc. xxiv. et in St. John, vi.

incorruption, and the change that is made in the faithful, when they are united unto Christ. But Suarez proceeds: "But transubstantiation does most properly and appositely signify the passage and conversion of the whole substance, into the whole substance." So that by this discourse we are quitted, and made free from the pressure of all those authorities of the fathers which speak of the 'mutation, conversion, transition, or passage, or transelementation, transfiguration, and the like,' of the bread into the body of Christ; these do, or may, only signify an accidental change; and come not home to their purpose of transubstantiation; and it is as if Suarez had said, 'the words, which the fathers use in this question, make not for us, and, therefore, we have made a new word for ourselves, and obtruded it upon all the world.'— But against it, I shall only object an observation of Bellarmine, that is not ill. "The liberty of new words is dangerous in the church, because out of new words, by little and little, new things arise, while it is lawful to coin new words, in divine affairs."

6. Sixthly: To which I add this, that if all the fathers had more unitedly affirmed 'the conversion of the bread into Christ's body,' than they have done, and had not explicated their meaning as they have done indeed, yet this 'word' would so little have helped the Roman cause, that it would directly have overthrown it. For in their 'transubstantiation' there is 'no conversion' of one thing into another, but a local succession of Christ's body into the place of bread. A change of the 'ubi' was not used to be called 'a substantial conversion.' But they understood nothing of our present ἀκρίβεια; they were not used to such curious nothings, and intricate falsehoods, and artificial nonsense, with which the Roman doctors troubled the world in this question. But they spake wholly another thing, and either they did affirm a substantial change, or they did not. If they did not, then it makes nothing for them, or against us; but if they did mean a proper substantial change, then, for so much as it comes to, it makes against us, but not for them; for they must mean a change of one substance into another, by conversion,— or a change of substances, by substitution of one in the place of another. If they meant the latter, then it was no conversion of one into another; and then they expressed not what they

meant; for 'conversion,' which was their word, could signify nothing of that; but if they meant the change of substance into substance, properly by conversion,—then they have confuted the present doctrine of transubstantiation; which though they call a substantial change, yet an accident is the 'terminus mutationis,' that is, it is, by their explication of it, wholly an accidental change, as I have before discoursed[e]; for nothing is produced but ubiquity or presentiality; that is, it is only made present, where it was not before. And it is to be observed, that there is a vast difference between conversion and transubstantiation; the first is not denied; meaning by it a change of use, of condition, of sanctification; as a table is changed into an altar, a house into a church, a man into a priest, Matthias into an apostle, the water of the river into the laver of regeneration; but this is not any thing of transubstantiation. For in this new device, there are three strange affirmatives, of which the fathers never dreamed. 1. That the natural being of bread is wholly ceased, and is not at all neither the matter nor the form. 2. That the accidents of bread and wine remain without a subject, their proper subject being annihilated, and they not subjected in the holy body. 3. That the body of Christ is brought into the place of the bread, which is not changed into it, but is succeeded by it. These are the constituent propositions of transubstantiation, without the proof of which, all the affirmations of conversion signify nothing to their purpose, or against ours.

7. Seventhly: When the fathers use the word 'nature' in this question, sometimes saying the 'nature is changed,' sometimes that 'the nature remains,' it is evident that they either contradicted each other, or that the word 'nature' hath, amongst them, diverse significations. Now in order to this, I suppose, if men will be determined by the reasonableness of the things themselves, and the usual manners of speech, and not by prejudices and prepossessions,—it will be evident, that when they speak of the change of nature, saying that bread changes his nature, it may be understood of an accidental change: for that the word 'nature' is used for a change of accidents, is, by the Roman doctors, con-

[e] Vide sect. 11. n. 34.

tended for, when it is to serve their turns (particularly in their answer to the words of pope Gelasius): and it is evident in the thing; for we say, a man of a good nature, that is, of a loving disposition. It is natural to me to love or hate this or that; and it is against my 'nature,' that is, 'my custom or my affection.' But then, as it may signify accidents, and a natural change may yet be accidental, as when water is changed into ice, wine into vinegar; yet it is also certain that 'nature' may mean 'substance:' and if it can, by the analogy of the place, or the circumstances of speech, or by any thing, be declared, when it is that they mean a 'substance' by using the word 'nature;' it must be certain, that then 'substance' is meant when the word 'nature' is used distinctly from, and in opposition to, accidents; or when it is explicated by, and in conjunction with, substance; which observation is reducible to practice, in the following testimonies of Theodoret, Gelasius, and others: "Immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit," says St. Austin[f].

8. Eighthly; So also, whatsoever words are used by the ancient doctors seemingly affirmative of a substantial change, cannot serve their interest, that now most desire it; because themselves being pressed with the words of 'natura,' and 'substantia,' against them, answer, that the fathers using these words, mean them not φυσικῶς, but θεολογικῶς, not 'naturally,' but 'theologically,' that is, as I suppose, not 'properly,' but 'sacramentally:' by the same account, when they speak of the change of the bread into the substance of Christ's body, they may mean the change of substance, not naturally, but sacramentally; so that this ought to invalidate the greatest testimony, which can be alleged by them; because themselves have taken from the words that sense, which only must have done them advantage; for if 'substantia' and 'natura,' always mean 'naturally,' then their sentence is oftentimes positively condemned by the fathers: if this may mean 'sacramentally,' then they can never without a just answer, pretend from their words to prove a 'natural, substantial change.'

9. Ninthly; But that the words of the fathers, in their most hyperbolical expressions, ought to be expounded sacra-

[f] Ad Dardanum.

mentally and mystically, we have sufficient warrant from themselves, affirming frequently that the name of the thing signified is given to the sign. St. Cyprian affirms "ut significantia et significata eisdem vocabulis censeantur," "the same words represent the sign and the thing signified[g]."—The same is affirmed by St. Austin, in his epistle 'ad Bonifacium[h].' Now upon this declaration of themselves, and of Scripture, whatsoever attributes either of them give to bread after consecration, we are, by themselves, warranted against the force of the words by a metaphorical sense; for if they call the sign by the name of the thing signified, and the thing intended is called by the name of a figure, and the figure by the name of the thing, then no affirmative of the fathers can conclude against them, that have reason to believe the sense of the words of institution to be figurative; for their answer is ready; the fathers and the Scriptures too, call the figure by the name of the thing figurated; the bread by the name of flesh, or the body of Christ, which it figures and represents.

10. Tenthly; The fathers in their alleged testimonies, speak more than is allowed to be literally and properly true, by either side, and, therefore, declare and force an understanding of their words different from the Roman pretension. Such are the words of St. Chrysostom; "Thou seest him, thou touchest him, thou eatest him, and thy tongue is made bloody, by this admirable blood,—thy teeth are fastened in his flesh, thy teeth are made red with his blood[i]:" and the author of the book 'De Cœnâ Domini,' attributed to St. Cyprian, "Cruci hæremus," &c. "We stick close to the cross, we suck his blood, and fasten our tongue between the very wounds of our Redeemer:" and under this head may be reduced very many other testimonies; now how far these go beyond the just positive limit, it will be in the power of any man to say,—and to take into this account, as many as he please, even all that go beyond his own sense and opinion, without all possibility of being confuted.

11. Eleventhly; In vain will it be for any of the Roman doctors, to allege the words of the fathers proving the con-

[g] Serm. de Unit. [h] Vide infra, n. 30.
[i] Hom. 83. in S. Mat. Hom. 60. et 6. ad Antioch. pop.

version of bread into Christ's body or flesh, and of the wine into his blood; since they say the same thing of us, that we also are turned into Christ's flesh, and body, and blood. So St. Chrysostom; "He reduces us into the same mass, or lump, neque id fide solùm sed reipsâ; and in very deed makes us to be his body[k]."—So Pope Leo: "In mysticâ distributione spiritualis alimoniæ, hoc impertitur et sumitur, ut, accipientes virtutem cœlestis cibi, in carnem ipsius, qui caro nostra factus est, transeamus."—And in his 24th sermon of the passion, "Non alia igitur participatio corporis, quàm ut in id quod sumimus transeamus:" "There is no other participation of the body, than that we should pass into that which we receive. In the mystical distribution of the spiritual nourishment, this is given and taken, that we receiving the virtue of the heavenly food, may pass into his flesh who became our flesh."—And Rabanus[l] makes the apology fit to this question; "Sicut illud in nos convertitur, dum id manducamus et bibimus: sic et nos in corpus Christi convertimur, dum obedienter, et piè vivimus:" "As that Christ's body is converted into us while we eat it, and drink it; so are we converted into the body of Christ, while we live obediently and piously."—So Gregory Nyssen[m]; *τὸ ἀθανατὸν σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἀναλαβόντι αὐτὸ γινόμενον, πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν μετεποίησεν.* "The immortal body being in the receiver, changes him wholly into his own nature:"—and Theophylact useth the same word; "He that eateth me, liveth by me, whilst he is in a certain manner mingled with me, is transelementated (*μεταποιεῖται* or changed) into me." Now let men of all sides do reason, and let one expound the other, and it will easily be granted, that as we are turned into Christ's body, so is that into us, and so is the bread into that.

12. Twelfthly: Whatsoever the fathers speak of this, they affirm the same also of the other sacrament, and of the sacramentals, or rituals of the church. It is a known similitude used by St. Cyril of Alexandria: "As the bread of the Eucharist after the invocation of the Holy Ghost is no longer common bread, but it is the body of Christ: so this holy

[k] Homil. 38. in S. Mat. ad Cler. Const. [l] De Instit. Cler. lib. xi. c. 31.
[m] Orat. Catech. 37.

unguent is no longer mere and common ointment, but it is (χάρισμα Χριστοῦ,) the grace of Christ: χρίσμα Χριστοῦ it uses to be mistaken, the 'Chrism' for the grace or gift of Christ; and yet this is not spoken properly, as is apparent; but it is in this, as in the Eucharist:"—so says the comparison. Thus St. Chrysostom says, that "the table or altar is as the manger in which Christ was laid;" that "the priest is a seraphim, and his hands are the tongs taking the coal from the altar."—But that which I instance in, is that 1. They say that they that hear the word of Christ, eat the flesh of Christ: of which I have already given account in sect. 3. num. 10. &c. As hearing is eating, as the word is his flesh, so is the bread after consecration in a spiritual sense. 2. That which comes most fully home to this, is their affirmative concerning baptism, to the same purposes, and in many of the same expressions which they use in this other sacrament. St. Ambrose[n] speaking of the baptismal waters, affirms "naturam mutari per benedictionem," "the nature of them is changed by blessing;"—and St. Cyril, of Alexandria[o], saith, "By the operation of the Holy Spirit, the waters are reformed to a divine nature, by which the baptized cleanse their body."—For in these, the ground of all their great expressions is, that which St. Ambrose expressed in these words: "Non agnosco usum naturæ; nullus est hic naturæ ordo, ubi est excellentia gratiæ:" "Where grace is the chief ingredient, there the use, and the order of nature, is not at all considered."—But this whole mystery is most clear in St. Austin[p], affirming; that "we are made partakers of the body and blood of Christ, when, in baptism, we are made members of Christ; and are not estranged from the fellowship of that bread and chalice, although we die before we eat that bread, and drink that cup."—"Tingimur in passione Domini;" "We are baptized into the passion of our Lord," says Tertullian;—"into the death of Christ," saith St. Paul: for by both sacraments "we show the Lord's death."

13. Thirteenthly; Upon the account of these premises we may be secured against all the objections, or the greatest part of those testimonies from antiquity, which are pretended

[n] Lib. iv. de Sacram. et lib. de iis qui initiantur myster. c. 9.
[o] Lib. ii. in Johan. c. 42.
[p] Ad infantes apud Bedam in 1 Cor. x. lib. de bap.

for transubstantiation; for either they speak that which we acknowledge, or that 'it is Christ's body,' that it is 'not common bread,' that 'it is a divine thing,' that 'we eat Christ's flesh,' that 'we drink his blood,' and the like; all which we acknowledge and explicate, as we do the words of institution; or else they speak more than both sides allow to be literally true; or speak as great things of other mysteries which must not, cannot be expounded literally; that is, they speak more, or less, or diverse from them, or the same with us: and I think there is hardly one testimony in Bellarmine, in Coccius, and Perron, that is pertinent to this question, but may be made invalid, by one, or more of the former considerations. But of those, if there be any, of which there may be a material doubt, beyond the cure of these observations, I shall give particular account in the sequel.

14. But then for the testimonies, which I shall allege against the Roman doctrine in this article, they will not be so easily avoided. 1. Because many of them are not only affirmative in the spiritual sense, but exclusive of the natural and proper. 2. Because it is easy to suppose that they may speak hyperboles, but never that which would undervalue the blessed sacrament: for an hyperbole is usual, not a μείωσις, or the 'lessening' a mystery; that may be true,—this, never; that may be capable of a fair interpretation, this can admit of none; that may breed reverence,—this, contempt. To which I add this, that the heathens, slandering the Christians to be worshippers of Ceres or Liber, because of the holy bread and chalice (as appears in St. Austin, book xx. chap. 13. against Faustus the Manichee), had reason to advance the reputation of sacramental signs to be above common bread and wine, not only so to explicate the truth of the mystery, but to stop the mouth of their calumny: and therefore for higher expressions there might be cause, but not such a cause for any lower than the severest truth; and yet let me observe this by the way: St. Austin answered only thus: "We are far from doing so, Quamvis panis et calicis sacramentum ritu nostro amplectamur." St. Austin might have farther removed the calumny, if he had been of the Roman persuasion; who adore not the bread, nor eat it at all in their synaxes, until it be no bread, but changed into the body of our Lord. But he knew nothing of that. Neither

was there ever any scandal of Christians upon any mistake, that could be a probable excuse for them to lessen their expressions in the matter eucharistical. Indeed Mr. Brerely hath got an ignorant fancy by the end, which I am now to note, and wipe off. He says, that the primitive Christians were scandalized by the heathen to be eaters of the flesh of a child, which, in all reason, must be occasioned by their doctrine of the manducation of Christ's flesh in the sacrament; and if this be true, then we may suspect, that they, to wipe off this scandal, might remove their doctrine as far from the objection as they could, and therefore might use some lessening expressions. To this I answer, that the occasions of the report were the sects of the Gnosticks, and the Peputians. The Gnosticks, as Epiphanius reports, bruised a new-born infant in a mortar, and all of them did communicate, by eating portions of it; and the Montanists, having sprinkled a little child with meal, let him blood, and of that made their eucharistical bread; and these stories the Jews published to disrepute, if they could, the whole religion; but nothing of this related to the doctrine of the Christian eucharist, though the bell always must tinkle, as they are pleased to think. But this turned to advantage of the truth, and to the clearing of this article. For when the scandal got foot, and run abroad, the heathens spared not to call the Christians cannibals, and to impute to them anthropophagy, or the devouring human flesh, and that they made Thyestes's feast, who, by the procurement of Atreus, ate his own children. Against this the Christian apologists betook themselves to a defence. Justin Martyr says, the false devils had set on work some vile persons, to kill some one or other to give colour to the report. Athenagoras[q], in a high defiance of the infamy, asks, "Do you think we are murderers? for there is no way to eat man's flesh, unless we first kill him."—Octavius, in Minutius Felix, confutes it upon this account: "We do not receive the blood of beasts into our food or beverage; therefore we are infinitely distant from drinking man's blood."—And this same Tertullian, in his Apologetick[r], presses further, affirming, that "to discover Christians, they use to offer them a black pudding, or something in which blood remained," and they

[q] Legat. pro Christian. [r] Cap. 9.

chose rather to die, than to do it; and of this we may see instances, in the story of Sanctus and Blandina, in the ecclesiastical histories. Concerning which it is remarkable, what Oecumenius, in his Catena upon the 2d chapter of the first epistle of St. Peter, reports out of Irenæus; 'The Greeks, having taken some servants of Christians, pressing to learn something secret of the Christians, and they having nothing in their notice to please the inquisitors, except that they had heard of their masters, that the divine communion is the blood, and body of Christ; they supposing it true according to their rude natural apprehensions, tortured Sanctus and Blandina, to confess it. But Blandina answered them thus: 'How can they suffer any such thing in the exercise of their religion, who do not nourish themselves with flesh that is permitted?' All this trouble came upon the act of the forementioned heretics; the report was only concerning the blood of an infant, not of a man, as it must have been, if it had been occasioned by the sacrament; but the sacrament was not so much as thought of in this scrutiny, till the examination of the servants gave the hint to him in the torture of Blandina.—Cardinal Perron, perceiving much detriment likely to come to their doctrine by these apologies of the primitive Christians, upon the eleventh anathematism of St. Cyril, says, that they deny anthropophagy, but did not deny theanthropophagy,—saying, that 'they did not eat the flesh, nor drink the blood of a mere man, but of Christ, who was God and man:'—which is so strange a device, as I wonder it could drop from the pen of so great a wit. For this would have been a worse, and more intolerable scandal, to affirm that Christians eat their God, and sucked his blood, and were devourers not only of a man, but of an immortal God. But, however, let his fancy be confronted with the extracts of the several apologies, which I have now cited,—and it will appear, that nothing of the Cardinal's fancy can come near their sense, or words: for all the business was upon the blood of a child, which the Gnostics had killed, or the Montanists tormented; and the matter of the sacrament was not in the whole rumour so much as thought upon.

15. Lastly: unless there be no one objection of ours, that means as it says, but all are shadows, and nothing is awake but Bellarmine, in all his dreams; or Perron, in all his labo-

rious excuses; if we be allowed to be in our wits, and to understand Latin, or Greek, or common sense; unless the fathers must all be understood according to their new nonsense answers, which the primitive doctors were so far from understanding or thinking of, that besides that it is next to impudence to suppose they could mean them, their own doctors, in a few ages last past, did not know them, but opposed, and spake some things contrary, and many things divers from them: I say, unless we have neither sense, nor reason, nor souls like other men, it is certain, that not one, nor two, but very many of the fathers, taught our doctrine most expressly in this article, and against theirs. And after all, whether the testimonies of the doctors be ancient, or modern, it is advantage to us, and inconvenient for them: for if it be ancient, it shows their doctrine not to be from the beginning; if it be modern, it does it more; for it declares plainly, the doctrine to be but of yesterday: now I am very certain, I can make it appear, not to have been the doctrine of the church, not of any church whose records we have, for above a thousand years together.

16. But now, in my entry upon the testimonies of fathers, I shall make my way the more plain and credible, if I premise the testimonies of some of the Roman doctors in this business. And the first I shall name, is Bellarmine[s] himself, who was the most wary of giving advantage against himself; but yet he says, "Non esse mirandum," &c. "it is not to be wondered at, if St. Austin, Theodoret, and others of the ancients, spake some things, which, in show, seem to favour the heretics, when, even from Jodocus some things did fall, which by their adversaries were drawn to their cause."—Now though he lessens the matter by 'quædam' and 'videantur,' and 'in speciem,' 'seemingly,' and 'in show' and 'some things,' yet it was as much as we could expect from him; with whom 'visibilitèr,' if it be on our side, must mean 'invisibilitèr,' and 'statuimus' must be 'abrogamus.'—But I rest not here: Alphonsus à Castro[t] says more: "De transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi, rara est, in antiquis scriptoribus, mentio:" "The ancient writers seldom mention

[s] Lib. ii. Euch. c. 25. Sect. Hic verò.
[t] De Hær. lib. viii. v. Indulgentia.

the change of the substance of bread into the body of Christ." —And yet these men would make us believe, that all the world is their own. But Scotus does directly deny the doctrine of conversion or transubstantiation to be ancient; so says Henriquez[s].—"Ante concilium Lateranense, transubstantiatio non fuit dogma fidei;" so said Scotus himself, as Bellarmine[x] cites him: and some of the fathers[y] of the society in England, in their prison affirmed, "Rem transubstantiationis patres ne attigisse quidem;" "That the fathers did not so much as touch the matter of transubstantiation:"—and it was likely so, because Peter Lombard[z], whose design it was to collect the sentences of the fathers into heads of articles, found in them so nothing to the purpose of transubstantiation, that he professed he was not able to define, whether the conversion of the eucharistical bread were formal or substantial, or of another kind. "To some it seems to be substantial, saying, 'the substance is changed into the substance:'"—'Quibusdam,' et 'videtur,' 'it seems,'—and that not *to all* neither, but *to some;* for his part, he knows not, whether they are right or wrong; therefore, in his days, the doctrine was not catholic. And, methinks, it was an odd saying of Vasquez[a], and much to this purpose; 'that as soon as ever the later schoolmen heard the name of transubstantiation, such a controversy did arise concerning the nature of it (he says not of the meaning of the word, but the nature of the thing), that by how much the more they did endeavour to extricate themselves, by so much the more they were entangled in difficulties.'—It seems that it was news to them to hear talk of it, and they were as much strangers to the nature of it, as to the name; it begat quarrels, and became a riddle, which they could not resolve; but, like Achelous's horn, sent forth a river of more difficulty to be waded through, than the horn was to be broken. And amongst these schoolmen, Durandus maintained an heretical opinion (says Bellarmine[b]), saying, 'that the form of bread was changed into Christ's body: but that the matter of bread remained still;'—by which also it is apparent, that then this

[s] Sum. lib. viii. c. 23.
[x] De Euch. lib. iii. c. 23. Sect. Unum tamen.
[y] Discourse modest. p. 13. [z] Lib. iv. Sent. dist. 11. lit. a.
[a] In 3. Tho. to. 3. disput. 185. c. 1. n. 1. [b] Lib. iii. de Euch. c. 1.

doctrine was but in the forge; it was once stamped upon at the Lateran council, but the form was rude, and it was fain to be cast again, and polished at Trent; the Jesuit order being the chief masters of the mint. But now I proceed to the trial of this topic.

17. I shall not need to arrest the reader with consideration of the pretension made by the Roman doctors, out of the passions of the apostles, which all men condemn for spurious and apocryphal; particularly 'the passion of St. Andrew,' said to be written by the priests and deacons of Achaia. For it is sufficient that they are so esteemed by Baronius[c], censured for such by Gelasius, by Philastrius and Innocentius; they were corrupted also by the Manichees by additions and detractions; and yet if they were genuine and uncorrupted, they say nothing, but what we profess: "Although the holy lamb, truly sacrificed, and his flesh eaten by the people, doth nevertheless persevere whole and alive;" for no man, that I know of, pretends that Christ is so eaten in the sacrament that he dies for it; for his flesh is eaten spiritually and by faith, and that is the most true manducation of Christ's body, the flesh of the holy Lamb: and this manducation 'breaks not a bone of him;' but then how he can be torn by the teeth of the communicants, and yet 'remain whole,' is a harder matter to tell: and therefore these words are very far from their sense; they are nearer to an objection: but I shall not be troubled with this any more; save that I shall observe that one White[d], of the Roman persuasion, quoting part of these words which Bellarmine, and from him the under-writers object: "Ego omnipotenti Deo omni die immaculatum agnum sacrifico,"—of these words in particular affirms, that, without all controversy, they are apocryphal.

18. Next to him is St. Ignatius, who is cited to have said something of this question, in his epistle 'ad Smyrnenses;' speaking of certain heretics, "They do not admit of eucharists, and oblations, because they do not confess the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour, which flesh suffered for us:" They that do not confess it, let them be anathema: for sure it is, as sure as Christ is true: but 'quomodo' is the ques-

[c] S. Andreæ Annal. to. 1. A. Ep. 44. num. 4.
[d] Diacosion Mart. fol. 3.

tion, and of this St. Ignatius says nothing. But the understanding of these words perfectly, depends upon the story of that time. Concerning which, we learn out of Tertullian and Irenæus, that the Marcosians, the Valentinians, and Marcionites, who denied the incarnation of the Son of God, did nevertheless use the eucharistical symbols; though, I say, they denied Christ to have a body. Now because this usage of theirs did confute their grand heresy (for to what purpose should they celebrate the sacrament of Christ's body, if he had none?), therefore it is that St. Ignatius might say: 'They did not admit the eucharist, because they did not confess it to be the flesh of Christ:' for though in practice they did admit it, yet, in theory, they denied it, because it could be nothing, as they handled the matter. For how could it be Christ's flesh sacramentally, if he had no flesh really? And, therefore, they did not admit the eucharist, as the church did, for, in no sense would they grant it to be the flesh of Christ; not the figure, not the sacrament of it; lest, admitting the figure, they should also confess the substance. But besides, if these words had been against us, it had signified nothing; because these words are not in St. Ignatius; they are in no Greek copy of him; but they are reported by Theodoret. But in these there is nothing else material, than what I have accounted: for I only took them in by the by, because they are great names, and are objected sometimes.

But I shall descend to more material testimonies, and consider those objections that are incident to the mention of the several fathers; supposing that the others are invalid, upon the account of the premises; or, if they were not, yet they can but pass for single opinions, against which themselves, and others, are opposed at other times.

19. Tertullian is affirmative in that sense of the article, which we teach. "Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis suis, Christus corpus suum meum fecit, dicendo, 'Hoc est corpus,' i. e. figura corporis mei[e]." He proves, against the Marcionites, that Christ had a true real body in his incarnation by this argument; because "in the sacrament he gave bread, as the figure of his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body." Fisher, in his answer

[e] Tertullian adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 40.

to the ninth question propounded by King James, and he from Cardinal Perron, says it is an ὑπέρβατον, and answers to this place, that 'Figura corporis mei,' refers, after Tertullian's odd manner of speaking, to 'Hoc,' and not to 'corpus meum,' which are the words immediately preceding, and so most proper for the relation: and that the sense is,—'This figure of my body is my body:' that is, 'this which was a figure in the Old Testament, is now a substance.'—To this I reply, 1. It must mean, 'this which is present, is my body,—not this figure of my body, which was in the Old Testament; but this, which we mean in the words of consecration;' and then it is no hyperbaton, which is to be supplied with 'quod erat,' 'This which was;'—for the nature of a hyperbaton is, to make all right by a mere transposition of the words; as, 'Christus mortuus est,' that is 'unctus;' place 'unctus' before 'mortuus,' and the sentence is perfect; but it is not so here: without the addition of two words, it cannot be; and if two words may be added, we may make what sense we please. But, 2. Suppose that 'figura corporis' does refer to 'hoc,'—yet it is to be remembered that 'hoc,' in that place, is one of the words of the institution, or consecration; and then it can have no sense to evacuate the pressure of his words. 3. Suppose this reference of the words to be intended, then the sense will be; 'This figure of my body, is my body;' the consequent of which, is that which we contend for: that the same which is called 'his body, is the figure of his body:' the one is the subject; the other, the predicate: and then it affirms all that is pleaded for: as if we say, 'Hæc effigies est homo,' we mean 'it is the effigies of a man;' and so in this, 'This figure of my body, is my body,' by the rule of denominatives, signifies, 'This is the figure of my body.'—4. 'In the preceding words, Tertullian says, "the pascha was the type of his passion!" this pascha he desired to eat; this pascha was not the lamb;—for he was betrayed the night before it was to be eaten: "professus se concupiscentiâ concupisse edere pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus"), "he would eat the passover of his own,"—figuram sanguinis sui salutaris implere concupiscebat," "he desired to fulfil the figure," that is, to produce the last of all the figures of his healing blood: now this was by eating the paschal lamb, that is, himself; for the other was not to be

eaten that night. Now then, if the eating, or delivering himself to be eaten that night, was 'implere figuram sanguinis sui,' he then did 'fulfil the figure of his blood;' therefore, 'figura corporis mei,' in the following words, must relate to what he did that night; that therefore was the figure, but the more excellent, because the nearest to the substance, which was given really the next day: this therefore, as St. Gregory Nazianzen affirms, was the most excellent figure, the paschal lamb itself being 'figura figuræ,' 'the figure of a figure,' as I have quoted him in the sequel. And it is not disagreeing from the expression of Scripture, saying that the law had σκιὰν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων; "a shadow, but not the very image[f]:" that was in the ceremonies of the law,—this, in the sacraments of the Gospel: Christ himself was the τὸ πρᾶγμα, 'the thing itself;' but the image was more than the shadow, though less than the substance; ἀντίτυπον was the word by which the fathers expressed this nearer configuration. 5. Whereas it is added, it had not been a figure, 'nisi veritatis esset corpus,'—to my sense clears the question; for therefore Christ's body, which he was clothed withal, was a true body, else this could not be a figure of it; but therefore this, which was also a figure, could not be the true body, of which it was a figure. 6. That which Fisher adds, that Tertullian's drift was to show, that whereas in the Old Testament, bread was the figure of the body of Christ (as appears by the words of the prophet, 'Mittamus lignum in panem ejus;' that is, crucem in corpus ejus) Christ, in the New Testament, made this figure really to be his body; this I conceive to make very much against Tertullian's design. For he proves that therefore Christ might well call bread his body; that was no new thing, for it was so also in the old figure; and therefore may be so now: but that this was no more than a figure, he adds, "If therefore he made bread to be his body, because he wanted a true body, then bread was delivered for us, and it would advance the vanity of Marcion, that bread was crucified."—No, this could not be; but therefore he must mean, that, as of old, in the prophet and in the passover, so now in the last supper, he gave the same figure,—and therefore that which was figured was

[f] Heb. i. v. 1.

real, viz. his crucified body. Now suppose we should frame this argument out of Tertullian's medium, and suppose it to be made by Marcion: "The body of Christ was delivered for the sins of the world,"—&c. "you Catholics say that bread is the body of Christ, therefore you say that bread was delivered for the sins of the whole world, and that bread was crucified for you, and that bread is the Son of God;"—what answer could be made to this out of Tertullian, but by expounding the minor proposition figuratively? We Catholics say, that the eucharistical bread is the body of Christ in a figurative sense, it is 'completio' or 'consummatio figurarum,' 'the last and most excellent of all figures.' But if he should have said, according to the Roman fancy, that it is the natural body of Christ, it would have made rare triumphs in the schools of Marcion. But that there may be no doubt in this particular, hear himself summing up his own discourses in this question: "Proinde panis et calicis sacramento jam in evangelio probavimus corporis et sanguinis Dominici veritatem adversùs phantasma Marcionis:" "Against the phantasm of Marcion we have proved the verity of Christ's body and blood by the sacrament of bread and wine[g]." 7. This very answer I find to be Tertullian's[h] own explication of this affair; for speaking of the same figurative speech of the prophet Jeremy, and why bread should be called his body; he gives this account: "Hoc lignum et Jeremias tibi insinuat dicturis prædicans Judæis, 'Venite mittamus lignum in panem ejus,' utique in corpus; sic enim Deus in evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem 'corpus suum' appellans, ut et hinc jam eum intelligas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse, cujus retro corpus in panem prophetis figuravit, ipso Domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo:" "For so God revealed in your Gospel, called bread his body, that hence thou mayest understand that he gave to bread the figure of his body, whose body anciently the prophet figured by bread, afterwards the Lord himself expounding the sacrament."—Nothing needs to be plainer. By the way, let me observe this, that the words, cited by Tertullian out of Jeremy, are expounded, and recited too, but by allusion. For there are no such words in the Hebrew text: which is

[g] Lib. v. cont. Marcion. c. 8. [h] Lib. iii. c. 19.

thus to be rendered, 'Corrumpamus veneno cibum ejus,' and so cannot be referred to the sacrament; unless you will suppose, that he fore-signified the poisoning the emperor, by a consecrated wafer. But as to the figure, this is often said by him; for, in the first book against Marcion, he hath these words again,—"Nec reprobavit panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat, etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus Creatoris:" "He refused not bread, by which he represents his own body, wanting or using in the sacraments the meanest things of the Creator. For it is not to be imagined, that Tertullian should attempt to persuade Marcion, that the bread was really and properly Christ's body; but that he really delivered his body on the cross, that both in the Old Testament, and here, himself gave a figure of it in bread and wine, for that was it which the Marcionites denied; saying, 'on the cross no real humanity did suffer;'—and he confutes them by saying, these are figures, and therefore denote a truth. 8. However, these men are resolved, that this new answer shall please them, and serve their turn; yet some of their fellows, great clerks as themselves, did shrink under the pressure of it, as not being able to be pleased with so laboured and improbable an answer. For Harding against Juel[l] hath these words, speaking of this place, which interpretation is not according to the true sense of Christ's words, although his meaning swerve not from the truth; and B. Rhenanus, the author of the admonition to the reader, 'De quibusdam Tertulliani Dogmatis,' seems to confess this to be Tertullian's error: "Error putantium corpus Christi in eucharistiâ tantùm esse sub figurâ, jam olim condemnatus," "The error of them that think the body of Christ is in the eucharist, only in a figure,—is now long since condemned."—But Garetius[k], Bellarmine[l], Justinian[m], Coton[n], Fevardentius[o], Valentia[p], and Vasquez[q], in the recitation of this passage of Tertullian, very fairly leave out the words that pinch them, and which clears the article: and bring the former words for themselves, without the interpretation of 'id est, figura corporis mei.' I may therefore, without scruple, reckon Ter-

[l] Art. 12. s. 9. Lib. iii. Euch. c. 20.
[k] De verâ Præs. class. 1. p. 19.
[l] Du Sacr. de la Mes. c. 17.
[m] In 1 Cor. xi.
[n] De Transub. lib. ij. c. 3.
[o] In Irenæ. lib. iv. c. 34.
[q] T. 3. in 3. disp. 180. n. 21.

tullian on our side, against whose plain words no real exception can lie, himself expounding his own meaning in the pursuance of the figurative sense of this mystery.

20. Concerning Origen I have already given an account in the ninth paragraph, and other places casually, and made it appear that he is a direct opposite to the doctrine of transubstantiation. And the same also of Justin Martyr, paragraph the fifth, number 9, where also I have enumerated divers others, who speak upon parts of this question, on which the whole depends, whither I refer the reader. Only concerning Justin Martyr, I shall recite these words of his against Tryphon: "Figura fuit panis eucharistiæ, quem in recordationem passionis—facere præcepit:" "The bread of the eucharist was a figure, which Christ the Lord commanded to do in remembrance of his passion."

21. Clemens Alexandrinus saith[r], διττὸν δὲ τὸ αἷμα Κυρίου, &c. "The blood of Christ is two-fold; the one is carnal, by which we are redeemed from death; the other spiritual, viz. by which we are anointed. And this is to drink the blood of Jesus, to be partakers of the incorruption of our Lord. But the power of the word is the Spirit, as blood is of the flesh. Therefore, in a moderated proposition, and convenience, wine is mingled with water, as the Spirit with a man. And he receives in the feast, [viz. eucharistical] tempered wine unto faith. But the Spirit leadeth to incorruption, but the mixture of both, viz. of drink and the word, is called the eucharist, which is praised, and is a good gift or grace, of which they who are partakers by faith, are sanctified in body and soul." Here plainly he calls that which is in the eucharist, 'spiritual blood;' and without repeating, the whole discourse is easy and clear. And that you may be certain of St. Clement's meaning, he disputes in the same chapter, against the Encratites, who thought it not lawful to drink wine. Εἰ γὰρ ἴστε, μετέλαβε οἴνου καὶ αὐτὸς, &c. "For be ye sure, he also did drink wine, for he also was a man, and he blessed wine when he said, Take drink, τοῦτό μου ἐστι τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου, This is my blood, the blood of the vine; for that word [that was shed for many for the remission of sins] it signifies allegorically a holy stream of gladness; ὅτι δὲ οἶνος ἦν

[r] Pæd. lib. ii. c. 2.

τὸ εὐλογηθὲν, but that 'the thing which had been blessed was wine,' he showed again, saying to his disciples, I will not drink of the fruit of this vine, till I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom."—Now St. Clement, proving by Christ's sumption of the eucharist, that he did drink wine, must mean the sacramental symbol to be truly wine, and 'Christ's blood allegorically, that holy stream of gladness;' or else he had not concluded, by that argument, against the Encratites. Upon which account these words are much to be valued, because, by our doctrine in this article, he only could confute the Encratites; as by the same doctrine explicated, as we explicate it, Tertullian confuted the Marcionites, and Theodoret and Gelasius confuted the Nestorians, and Eutychians; if the doctrine of transubstantiation had been true, these four heresies had by them, as to their particular arguments relating to this matter, been unconfuted.

22. St. Cyprian, in his tractate 'de Unctione,' which Canisius, Harding, Bellarmine, and Lindan cite, hath these words, "Dedit itaque Dominus noster," &c. "Therefore our Lord, in his table in which he did partake his last banquet with his disciples, with his own hands gave bread and wine; but on the cross he gave to the soldiers his body to be wounded, that, in the apostles, the sincere truth, and the true sincerity being more secretly imprinted, he might expound to the Gentiles, how wine and bread should be his flesh and blood, and by what reasons causes might agree with effects, and divers names and kinds (viz. bread and wine) might be reduced to one essence, and the signifying, and the signified, might be reckoned by the same words:"—and in his third epistle hath these words, "Vinum quo Christi sanguis ostenditur," "wine by which Christ is shown or declared:" Here I might cry out, as Bellarmine upon a much slighter ground, "Quid clariùs dici potuit?" But I forbear; being content to enjoy the real benefits of these words without a triumph. But I will use it thus far, that it shall outweigh the words cited out of the tract 'de Cœnâ Domini,' by Bellarmine, by the Rhemists, by the Roman catechism, by Perron, and by Gregory de Valentiâ. The words are these, "Panis iste, quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie sed naturâ mutatus omnipotentiâ verbi factus est caro, et sicut in personâ Christi," &c. "The bread, which the Lord gave to his

disciples, is changed, not in shape, but in nature, being made flesh by the omnipotency of the word;" and as in "the person of Christ the humanity was seen, and the divinity lay hid, so in the visible sacrament, the divine essence, after an ineffable manner, pours itself forth, that devotion about the sacraments might be religion, and that a more sincere entrance may be opened to the truth, whereof the body and the blood are sacraments, even unto the participation of the Spirit, not unto the consubstantiality of Christ." This testimony, as Bellarmine says, admits of no answer. But, by his favour, it admits of many: 1. Bellarmine cites but half of those words, and leaves out that which gives him answer. 2. The words affirm, that that body and blood are but a sacrament of a reality and truth; but if it were, really and naturally, Christ's body, then it were itself, 'veritas et corpus,' and not only a sacrament. 3. The truth [of which these are sacramental] is 'the participation of the Spirit;' that is, a spiritual communication. 4. This does not arrive 'ad consubstantialitatem Christi,' 'to a participation or communion of the substance of Christ;' which it must needs do, if bread were so changed in nature, as that it were substantially the body of Christ. 5. These sermons of St. Cyprian's title and name are under the name also of Arnoldus, abbot of Bonavilla, in the time of St. Bernard, as appears in a manuscript in the library of All Souls College, of which I had the honour sometime to be a fellow. However, it is confessed on all sides, that this tractate is not St. Cyprian's; and who is the father of it, if Arnoldus be not, cannot be known; neither his age nor reputation. His style sounds like the eloquence of the monastery, being direct friar's Latin, as appears by his 'honorificare, amaricare, injuriare, demembrare, sequestrare, attitulare, spiritualitas, te supplico,' and some false Latin besides; and therefore he ought to pass for nothing; which, I confess, I am sorry for, as to this question; because, to my sense, he gives us great advantage in it. But I am content to lose what our cause needs not. I am certain they can get nothing by him. For if the authority were not incompetent, the words were impertinent to their purpose, but very much against them: only let me add out of the same sermon these words: "Panis iste communis, in carnem et sanguinem mutatus, procurat vitam et incrementum corporibus, ideòque

ex consueto effectu fidei nostræ adjuta infirmitas, sensibili argumento edocta et visibilibus sacramentis inesse vitæ æternæ effectum, et non tam corporali quàm spirituali transitione nos cum Christo uniri:" "That common bread, being changed into flesh and blood, procures life and increment to our bodies; therefore our infirmity, being helped with the usual effect of faith, is taught by a sensible argument, that the effect of eternal life is in visible sacraments, and that we are united to Christ, not so much by a corporal, as by a spiritual change." If both these discourses be put together, let the authority of the writer be what it will, the greater the better.

23. In the dialogues against the Marcionites, collected out of Maximus in the time of Commodus or Severus[s], or thereabouts, Origen is brought in speaking thus: Εἰδ' ὡς οὗτοί φασιν, ἄσαρκος, καὶ ἄναιμος ἦν, ποίας σαρκὸς, ἢ τίνος σώματος, ἢ ποίου αἵματος εἰκόνας διδοὺς ἄρτόν τε καὶ ποτήριον ἐνετέλλετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι; "If as the Marcionites say, Christ had neither flesh nor blood, of what flesh or of what blood did he, giving bread and the chalice as images, command his disciples, that by these a remembrance of him should be made?"

24. To the same purpose are the words of Eusebius[t]: Τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παραδίδου μαθηταῖς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι παραπελευόμενος. "He gave to his disciples the symbols of Divine economy, commanding the image or type of his own body to be made:"—and again, τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐντελῶν, διὰ συμβόλων τοῦτε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεσμοὺς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες. "They received a command, according to the constitution of the New Testament, to make a memory of this sacrifice upon the table, by the symbols of his body and healthful blood."

25. St. Ephrem[u] the Syrian, patriarch of Antioch, is dogmatical and decretory in this question, τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται φύσεως, καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος: "The body of Christ, received by the faithful, departs not from his sensible

[s] A. D. 190. [t] Lib. viii. de Monst. Evang. c. 1. lib. i. c. ult.

[u] S. Ephrem. de sacris Antioch. Legibus apud Phot. lib. i. co. 229. Scotus Jesuita exponit ἐξίσταται 'cognoscitur,' contra sensum loci.

substance, and is undivided from a spiritual grace." He adds the similitude and parity of baptism to this mystery; "for even baptism being wholly made spiritual, and being that which is the same and proper of the sensible substance, I mean of water, saves,—and that which is born, doth not perish."—I will not descant upon these or any other words of the fathers I allege; for if, of their own natural intent, they do not teach our doctrine, I am content they should pass for nothing.

26. St. Epiphanius [x], affirming man to be like God, *πάντες τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν*, "in some image or similitude, not according to nature," illustrates it by the similitude of the blessed sacrament: "We see that our Saviour took into his hands, as the evangelist hath it, that he arose from supper, and took those things; and when he had given thanks, he said, 'This is mine, and this;' we see it is not equal, it is not like, not to the image in the flesh, not to the invisible Deity, not to the proportion of members; for this is a round form, *καὶ ἀναίσθητον ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν*, and cannot perceive any thing, or is 'insensible according to power' or faculty, and he would by grace say, 'This is mine, and this;' and every man believes the word that is spoken; for he that believeth not him to be true, is fallen from grace and salvation."—Now the force of Epiphanius's argument, consisting in this, that we are like to God after his image, but yet not according to nature, as the sacramental bread is like the body of Christ,—it is plain, that the sacramental species are the body of Christ, and his blood, *κατ' εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν*, "according to the image or representment, not according to nature," but according to grace.

25. Macarius's words are plain enough [y]: *Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι·* "In the church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of his flesh and blood; and they that partake of the bread that appears, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ."

26. St. Gregory Nazianzen [z], speaking of the pascha, saith, "Jam potestatis participes erimus," &c. "Now we

[x] In Ancorato. [y] Homil. 27. [z] Orat. 2. in Pasc.

shall be partakers of the paschal supper, but still in figure, though more clear than in the old law. For the legal passover (I will not be afraid to speak it) was a more obscure figure of a figure."

St. Ambrose is of the same persuasion[a]. "Fac nobis hanc oblationem ascriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi:" "Make this ascribed oblation reasonable and acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."—And again, "Mira potentia," &c. "it is a wonderful power of God, which makes that the bread should remain what it is, and yet be changed into another thing."—And again[b], "How much more operative is the word of Christ, that the things be what they were, and yet be changed into another? and so that which was bread before consecration, now is the body of Christ."—"Hoc tamen impossibile est, ut panis sit corpus Christi; sed hæc verba ad sanum intellectum sunt intelligenda, ita solvit Hugo," saith the gloss in Gratian[c]; which is an open defiance of the doctrine of St. Ambrose, affirming it to be impossible. But because these words pinch severely, they have retrenched the decisive words, and leave out "et sint," and make them to run thus, "that the things be — changed into another;" which corruption is discovered by the citation of these words in Paschasius, Guitmond, Bertram, Algerus, Ivo Carnotensis, Gratian, and Lombard. But in another place he calls the mystical chalice 'the type of the blood[d];' and that "Christ is offered here, 'in imagine,' in type, image, or representation; 'in cœlo, in veritate,' the truth, the substance is in heaven."—And again, "This, therefore, truly is the sacrament of the flesh. Our Lord Jesus himself says, this is my body. Before the blessing by the words it was named another species, (or kind); after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified[e]."

27. St. Chrysostom is brought on both sides, and his rhetoric hath cast him on the Roman side, but it also bears him beyond it; and his divinity and sober opinions have fixed him on ours. How to answer the expressions hyperbolical, which he often uses, is easy, by the use of

[a] De Sacram. lib. iv. c. 5.
[b] Ibid. c. 4.
[c] De Consec. dist. 2. Panis est.
[d] In 1 Cor. xi.
[e] De Offic. lib. i. c. 48. Lib. de Initiat. c. 9.

rhetoric and the customs of the words: but I know not how any man can sensibly answer these words, "For as before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread, but the Divine grace sanctifying it by the means of the priest, it is freed from the name of bread, but it is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it[f]." To the same purpose are those words on the twenty-second Psalm, published amongst his works; though, possibly, they were of some other of that time, or before, or after; it matters not to us, but much to them: for if he be later, and yet esteemed a catholic (as it is certain he was, and the man awhile supposed to be St. Chrysostom), it is the greater evidence, that it was long before the church received their doctrine. The words are these: "That table he hath prepared to his servants and his maidens in their sight; that he might, every day, show us in the sacrament, according to the order of Melchisedeck, bread and wine to the likeness of the body and blood of Christ[g]." To the same purpose is that saying in the homilies of whoever is the author of that 'opus imperfectum' upon St. Matthew: "Si igitur hæc vasa," &c. "If, therefore, these vessels being sanctified, it be so dangerous to transfer them to private uses, in which the body of Christ is not, but the mystery of his body is contained; how much more concerning the vessels of our bodies," &c. Now against these testimonies, they make an outcry that they are not St. Chrysostom's works,—and for this last, the book is corrupted, and, they think, in this place by some one of Berengarius's scholars; for they cannot tell. Fain they would believe it; but this kind of talk is a resolution not to yield, but to proceed against all evidence; for that this place is not corrupted, but was originally the sense of the author of the homilies, is highly credible by the faith of all the old manuscripts; and there is in the public library of Oxford an excellent manuscript, very ancient, that makes faith in this particular; but that some one of their scholars might have left these words out of some of their copies, were no great wonder, though I

[f] Ep. ad Cæsar. cont. Hæres. Apollinarii citat. per Damascen. et per collect. sent. patrum contrà Severianos edit. per Turrian.

[g] Hom. 11. in St. Matt.

do not find they did, but that they foisted in a marginal note, affirming that these words are not in all old copies; an affirmation very confident, but as the case stands, to very little purpose. But, upon this account, nothing can be proved from sayings of fathers. For either they are not their own works, but made by another; or, 2. they are capable of another sense; or, 3. the places are corrupted by heretics; or, 4. it is not in some old copies; which pretences I am content to let alone, if they, upon this account, will but transact the question wholly by Scripture and common sense. 5. It matters not at all what he is, so he was not esteemed an heretic; and that he was not it is certain, since, by themselves, the books are put among the works of St. Chrysostom, and themselves can quote them when they seem to do them service. All that I infer from hence is this, that whensoever these books were written, some man, esteemed a good catholic, was not of the Roman persuasion in the matter of the sacrament; therefore, their opinion is not catholic. But that St. Chrysostom may not be drawn from his right of giving testimony and interpretation of his words in other places; in his twenty-third homily upon the first of the Corinthians, which are undoubtedly his own: he saith, "As thou eatest the body of the Lord, so they (viz. the faithful in the Old Testament) did eat manna: as thou drinkest blood, so they the water of the rock. For though the things which are made, be sensible, yet they are given spiritually, not according to the consequence of nature, but according to the grace of a gift, and with the body they also nourish the soul, leading unto faith."

28. The next I produce for evidence in this case is St. Austin, concerning whom it is so evident that he was a protestant in this article, that, truly, it is a strange boldness to deny it; and upon equal terms, no man's mind in the world can be known; for if all that he says in this question, shall be reconciled to transubstantiation, I know no reason but it may be possible, but a witty man may pretend, when I am dead, that, in this discourse, I have pleaded for the doctrine of the Roman church. I will set his words down nakedly, without any gloss upon them, and let them do by themselves as much as they can. "Si enim sacramenta

quandam similitudinem [h]," &c. " For if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things, whereof they are sacraments, they were no sacraments at all. But, from this similitude, for the most part, they receive the things themselves. As therefore, according to a certain manner, the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ: so the sacrament of faith is." Now suppose a stranger to the tricks of the Roman doctors, a wise and a discerning man, should read these words in St. Austin, and weigh them diligently, and compare them with all the adjacent words and circumstances of the place, I would desire reasonably to be answered, on which side he would conclude St. Austin to be? if, in any other place, he speaks words contrary; that is his fault or forgetfulness: but if the contrary had been the doctrine of the church, he could never have so forgotten his religion and communion, as so openly to have declared a contrary sense to the same article. " Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis [i]," &c. " You are not to eat this body which you see," so he brings in Christ speaking to his disciples, " or to drink that blood, which my crucifiers shall pour forth; I have commended to you a sacrament, which, being spiritually understood, shall quicken you;"—and " Christ brought them to a banquet, in which he commended to his disciples the figure of his body and blood [k]:"—" For he did not doubt to say [l], This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body."—" Quod ab omnibus sacrificium appellatur [m]," &c. " That which by all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice, in which the flesh of Christ, after his assumption, is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrances." But concerning St. Austin's doctrine, I shall refer him that desires to be further satisfied, to no other record than their own canon law [n]. Which, not only from St. Austin, but from divers others, produces testimonies so many, so pertinent, so full for our doctrine, and against the dream of transubstantiation, that it is to me a wonder, why it is not clapped into the ' Indices Expurgatorii,'—for it

[h] Ep. ad Bonifac.
[i] In Psal. xcviii.
[k] In Psal. iii.
[l] Cont. Adimant. c. 12.
[m] Contr. Faustum Manich. lib. x. c. 2.
[n] De Consecrat. d. 2.

speaks very many truths beyond the cure of their glosses; which they have changed and altered several times. But that this matter concerning St. Austin may be yet clearer, his own third book, 'De Doctrinâ Christianâ,' is so plain for us in this question, that when Frudegardus, in the time of Charles the Bald, had, upon occasion of the dispute, which then began to be hot and interested in this question, read this book of St. Austin, he was changed to the opinion of a spiritual and mysterious presence; and upon occasion of that his being persuaded by St. Austin, Paschasius Ratherdus wrote to him, as of a question then doubted of by many persons, as is to be seen in his epistle to Frudegardus. I end this of St. Austin with those words of his, which he intends by way of rule for expounding these and the like words of Scripture taken out of this book 'of Christian doctrine;' "Locutio præceptiva[o]," &c. "A preceptive speech, forbidding a crime or commanding something good or profitable, is not figurative; but if it seems to command a crime, or forbid a good, then it is figurative: 'unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man,' &c. seems to command a wickedness, it is therefore a figure commanding us to communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly and profitably to lay it up in our memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us." I shall not need to urge that this holy sacrament is called "Eucharistia carnis et sanguinis," "The eucharist of the body and blood," by Irenæus; —"Corpus symbolicum et typicum," by Origen;—"In typo sanguis," by St. Jerome;—'similitudo, figura, typus, ἀντίτυπον, images, enigmas, representations, expressions, exemplars,' of the passion, by divers others: that which I shall note here is this, that in the council of Constantinople[p] it was publicly professed, that the sacrament is not the body of Christ φύσει, but θέσει, 'not by nature, but by representment;' for so it is expounded. Τὸ θέσει ἤτοι ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἁγία, 'the holy image of it,' and Τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἄρτον ὡς ἀψευδῆ εἰκόνα τῆς φυσικῆς σαρκὸς, 'the eucharistical bread is the true image of the natural flesh,' and ἡ θεοπαράδοτος εἰκὼν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, and ἀψευδὴς αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ· 'A figure or

[o] Lib. iii. c. 15, 16.

[p] A. D. 754. of 338. B. B.

image delivered by God, of his flesh; and a true image of the incarnate dispensation of Christ[q].' These things are found in the third tome of the sixth action of the second Nicene council, where a pert deacon, ignorant and confident, had boldly said, that none of the apostles or fathers had ever called the sacrament the 'image' of Christ's body; that they were called *ἀντίτυπα*, 'antitypes,' before consecration, he grants; but after consecration, they are called, and are, and are believed to be, the body and blood of Christ properly; which, I suppose, he might have learned of Damascene, who, in opposition to the Iconoclasts, would not endure the word 'type,' or 'image,' to be used concerning the holy sacrament; for they would admit no other image but that: he, in defiance of them who had excommunicated him for a worshipper of images, and a half Saracen, would admit any image but that; but denied that to be an image or type of Christ[r]. For Christ said not, This is the type of my body, but it is it. But, however, this new question began to brangle the words of type and antitype, and the manner of speaking began to be changed, yet the article, as yet, was not changed. For the fathers used the words of type, and antitype, and image, &c. to exclude the natural sense of the sacramental body: and Damascene, and Anastasius Sinaita, and some others of that age, began to refuse those words, lest the sacrament be thought to be nothing of reality, nothing but an image. And that this really was the sense of Damascene, appears by his words, recited in the acts of the second council of Nice, affirming, that the Divine bread is made Christ's body by assumption and inhabitation of the Spirit of Christ, in the same manner as water is made the laver of regeneration. But, however, they were pleased to speak in the Nicene assembly, yet, in the Roman edition of the councils, the publishers and collectors were wiser, and put on this marginal note: *ἀντίτυπα μετὰ τὸ ἁγιασθῆναι πολλάκις εὕρεται καλούμενα τὰ ἅγια δῶρα·* "The holy gifts are oftentimes called types and figures even after consecration;"—particularly by Gregory Nazianzen[s], and St. Cyril of Jerusalem[t]. I remember only one thing objected to this testimony of so many bishops, that

[q] Vide Concil. General. tom. iii. p. 599. edit. Rom.
[r] De Fide, lib. iv. c. 14. [s] In Apolog. et Orat. Funebr. pro Gorg.
[t] Mystag. Catech. 5.

they were iconoclasts or breakers of images, and, therefore, not to be trusted in any other article. So Bellarmine, as I remember. But this is just as if I should say, that I ought to refuse the Lateran council, because they were worshippers of images, or defenders of purgatory. Surely if I should, I had much more reason to refuse their sentence, than there is that the Greeks should be rejected upon so slight a pretence; nay for doing that which, for aught appears, was, in all their circumstances, their duty in a high measure; so that, in effect, they are refused for being good Christians. But after this, it happened again, that the words of 'type' and 'image' were disliked in the question of the holy sacrament, by the emperor Charles the Great, his tutor Alcuinus, and the assembly at Frankfort; but it was in opposition to the council of Constantinople, that called it the true image of Christ's body, and of the Nicene council, who decreed the worship of images; for if the sacrament were an image, as they of Constantinople said, then it might be lawful to give reverence and worship to some images: for although these two synods were enemies to each other, yet the proposition of one might serve the design of the other: but, therefore, the western doctors of that age, speaking against the decree of this, did also mislike the expression of that; meaning, that the sacrament is not a type or image, as a type is taken for a prefiguration, a shadow of things to come, like the legal ceremonies, but in opposition to that is a body and a truth; yet still it is a sacrament of the body, a mystery which is the same in effect with that which the fathers taught in their so frequent using these words of type, &c. for seven hundred and fifty years together. And concerning this, I only note the words of Charles the emperor, 'Ep. ad Alcuinum' after the synod; "Our Lord hath given the bread and the chalice 'in figurâ corporis sui et sui sanguinis,' 'in the figure of his body and blood.'" But setting the authority aside, for if these men of Constantinople be not allowed, yet the others are, and it is notorious that the Greek fathers did frequently call the bread and wine ἀντίτυπα, σύμβολα, μυστήρια, εἰκόνας, and the Latin fathers call them "signs, similitudes, figures, types, images," therefore there must be something pretended to stop this great outcry and insupportable prejudice of so great, so clear authority. After many trials, as that by

'antitypes' they mean 'exemplars,'—that it is only before consecration, not after,—and such other little devices, of which they themselves quickly grew weary; at last, the craftiest of them came to this, that the body of Christ, under the species, might well be said to be the sign of the same body and blood, as it was on the cross; so Bellarmine[a]; that is the answer; and that they are hard put to it, you may guess by the meanness of the answer. For besides that 'nothing can be like itself,' 'idem non est simile[z];' the body, as it is under the species, is glorified, immortal, invisible, impassible, indivisible, insensible; and this is it which he affirms to be 'the sign,' that is, which is appointed to signify and represent a body that was humbled, tormented, visible, mortal, sensible, torn, bleeding, and dying; so that here is a sign nothing like the thing signified, and an invisible sign of a visible body, which is the greatest absurdity in nature, and in the use of things, which is imaginable; but besides this, this answer, if it were a proper and sensible account of any thing, yet it is besides the mark; for that the fathers, in these allegations, affirm that the species are the signs, that is, that bread and wine, or the whole sacrament, is a sign of that body, which is exhibited in effect and spiritual power: they dreamt not this dream; it was long before themselves did dream it: they that were but the day before them, having, as I noted before, other fancies. I deny not but the sacramental body is the sign of the true body crucified; but that the body glorified should be but a sign of the true body crucified, is a device fit for themselves to fancy. To this sense are those words cited by Lombard and Gratian, out of St. Austin, in the sentences of Prosper: "Caro ejus est quam formâ panis opertam in sacramento accipimus, sanguis quem sub specie vini potamus: caro, viz. carnis, et sanguis sacramentum est sanguinis, carne et sanguine utroque invisibili et intelligibili et spirituali significatur corpus Christi visibile plenum gratiæ et Divinæ majestatis;" that is, "It is his flesh which, under the form of bread, we receive in the sacrament, and, under the form of wine, we drink his blood." Now that you may understand his mean-

[a] De Euch. lib. ii. c. 15.

[z] Nemo est sui ipsius imago. S. Hilar. lib. de Synod. Quod simile est non est illud cui est simile. S. Athanas. contr. Hypocr. Meleti.

ing, he tells you this is true in the 'sacramental or spiritual sense only;' for he adds, 'flesh is the sacrament of flesh, and blood of blood; by both flesh and blood, which are invisible, intelligible, and spiritual, is signified the visible body of Christ, full of grace and Divine majesty." In which words here is a plain confutation of their main article, and of this whimsey of theirs. For as to the particular, whereas Bellarmine says[y], that Christ's body, real and natural, is the type of the body as it was crucified, St. Austin says, that the natural body is a type of that body which is glorified, not the glorified body of the crucified. 2. That which is a type, is flesh in a spiritual sense, not in a natural; and, therefore, it can mean nothing but this, that the sacramental body is a figure and type of the real: ὅπερ ἐστὶ δηλῶσαι. And this thing is noted by the gloss of Gratian[z]; 'Caro,' *i. e.* 'species carnis, sub qua latet corpus Christi,' &c. 'The flesh, that is, the species of it under which it lies, are the sacrament of the flesh:'—so that the being of a sacrament of Christ's body is wholly relative to the symbols, not to the body; as if the body were his own sign and his own sacrament.

30. Next to this heap of testimonies, I must repeat the words of Theodoret and Gelasius, which though known in this whole question, yet being plain, certain, and unanswerable, relying upon a great article of the religion, even the union of the two natures of Christ into one person, without the change of substances, must be as sacred and untouched by any trifling answer, as the article itself ought to be preserved. The case was this: the Eutychian heretics denied the natures of Christ to be united in one person, that is, they denied him to be both God and man, saying, his humanity was taken into his divinity after his ascension. The fathers disputing against them, say, the substances remain entire, though joined in the person. The Eutychians said this was impossible[a]. But as, in the sacrament, the bread was changed into Christ's body, so, in the ascension, was the humanity turned into the divinity. To this, Theodoret answers in a dialogue between the Eutychians, under the name of Eranistes, and himself the Orthodox[b]: "Christ

[y] Ubi supra. [z] De Consecrat. d. 2. c. Hoc est quod.
[a] Alphons. à Castro de Hæres. Eutych. [b] Dial. i. c. 3.

honoured the symbols and signs, which are seen, with the title of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but to nature adding grace." The words are not capable of an answer, if we observe that he says, there is no change made, but only grace superadded; in all things else, the things are the same. And again: "For neither do the mystical signs recede from their nature; for they abide in their proper substance, figure, and form, and may be seen and touched: So the humanity of Christ[c]," &c.: and a little after: "So that body of Christ hath the ancient form, figure, superscription, and (to speak the sum of all) the substance of the body, although after the resurrection it be immortal and free from all corruption:" now these words spoken upon this occasion, to this purpose, in direct opposition to a contradicting person, but casting his article wholly upon supposition of a substantial change, and opposing to him a ground contrary to his, upon which only he builds his answer, cannot be eluded by any little pretence. Bellarmine and the lesser people from him, answer, that 'by nature' he understands the exterior qualities of nature, such as colour, taste, weight, smell, &c. 1. I suppose this, but does he mean so by 'substantia' too? *οὐσία*. Does he by 'substance' mean 'accidents?' but suppose that a while, yet 2. If he had answered thus, how had Theodoret confuted the Eutychians? For thus says Eranistes; "As the bread is changed in substance into the body of Christ, so is the humanity into the divinity:" yea, but, says Theodoret, according to Bellarmine, "The substances of bread are not changed; for the colour, the shape, the bigness, and the smell remain:" or thus, "the accidents remain, which I call substance; for there are two sorts of substances; substances and accidents;" and this latter sort of substances remain; but not the former; and so you are confuted, Eranistes.—But what if Eranistes should reply; 'if you say all of bread is changed excepting the accidents, then my argument holds: for I only contend that the substance of the humanity is changed, as you say the substance of bread is:' to this nothing can be said, unless Theodoret may have leave to answer as otherwise men must. But now Theodoret answered, 'that the sub-

[c] Dial. 2. c. 24.

stance of bread is not changed, but remains still, and by substance, he did mean substance, and not the accidents;' for if he had, he had not spoken sense. Either, therefore, the testimony of Theodoret remaineth unsatisfied by our adversaries, or the argument of the Eutychians is unanswered by Theodoret. 3. Theodoret, in these places, opposes nature to grace, and says, all remains without any change but of grace. 4. He also explicates nature by substance, so that it is a substantial nature he must mean. 5. He distinguishes substance from form and figure, and therefore, by substance cannot mean form and figure, as Bellarmine dreams. 6. He affirms concerning the body of Christ, that in the resurrection it is changed in accidents, being made incorruptible and immortal, but affirms that the substance remains; therefore, by substance, he must mean, as he speaks, without any prodigious sense affixed to the word. 7. Let me observe this by the way, that the doctrine of the substantial change of bread into the body of Christ, was the persuasion of the heretic, the Eutychian Eranistes, but denied by the catholic Theodoret; so that, if they will pretend to antiquity in this doctrine, their plea is made ready and framed by the Eutychian, from whom they may, if they please, derive the original of their doctrine,—or, if they please, from the elder Marcosites; but it will be but vain to think, the Eutychian did argue from thence, as if it had been a catholic ground; reason we might have had to suppose it, if the catholic had not denied it. But the case is plain: as the Sadducees disputed with Christ about the article of no spirits, no resurrection, though, in the church of the Jews, the contrary was the more prevailing opinion: so did the Eutychians upon a pretence of a substantial conversion in the sacrament, which was then their fancy, and devised to illustrate their other opinion: but it was disavowed by the catholics.

31. Gelasius[4] was engaged against the same persons in the same cause, and therefore, it will be needful to say nothing, but to describe his words. For they must have the same efficacy with the former, and prevail equally. "Certè sacramenta," &c. "Truly the sacraments of the body and

[4] Gelasius de duabus Naturis cont. Eutychetem et Nestorium.

blood of Christ, which we receive, are a Divine thing; for that by them we are made partakers of the Divine nature; and yet it ceases not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine. And truly an image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ, are celebrated in the action of the mysteries." These are his words; concerning which this only is to be considered, beyond what I suggested concerning Theodoret; that although the word οὐσία in the Greek, which we render 'substantia,' might be apt to receive divers interpretations, though in his discourse he confined it to his proper meaning (as appears above),—yet, in Gelasius, who was a Latin author, the word 'substantia' is not capable of it: and I think there is no example, where 'substantia' is taken for an accidental nature. It may, as all other words can, suffer alterations by tropes and figures, but never signify grammatically any thing but itself, and his usual significations: and if there be among us any use of lexicons or vocabularies, if there be any notices conveyed to men by forms of speech, then we are sure in these things: and there is no reason we should suffer ourselves to be out-faced out of the use of our senses, and our reason, and our language. It is usually here replied, that Gelasius was an obscurer person, bishop of Cæsarea, and not pope of Rome, as is supposed. I answer, 1. That he was bishop of Rome that wrote the book, out of which these words are taken, is affirmed in the Bibliotheca Patrum, approved by the theological faculty in Paris, 1576: and Massonius 'de episcopis urbis Romæ,' in the life of pope Gelasius, saith, that pope John cited the book "de duabus Naturis,"—and by Fulgentius it is so too. 2. But suppose he was not pope, that he was a catholic bishop is not denied; and that he lived above a 1000 years ago; which is all I require in this business. For any other bishop may speak truth, as well as the bishop of Rome; and his truth shall be of equal interest and persuasion. But so strange a resolution men have taken to defend their own opinions, that they will, in despite of all sense and reason, say something to every thing, and that shall be an answer whether it can or no.

32. After all this, it is needless to cite authorities from the later ages: it were indeed easy to heap up many, and those not obscure either in their name, or in their testimony.

Such as Facundus, bishop of Hermian, in Africa, in the year 552, in his ninth book and last chapter written in defence of Theod. Mopsuest. &c. hath these words, "The sacrament of his body and blood, we call his body and blood: not that bread is properly his body, or the cup his blood; but that they contain in them the mystery of his body and blood."—Isidore[e], bishop of Sevil, says, "Panis, quem frangimus," &c. "The bread, which we break, is the body of Christ, who saith, 'I am the living bread.' But the wine is his blood, and that is it which is written, 'I am the true vine.' But bread, because it strengthens our body, therefore it is called the body of Christ; but wine, because it makes blood in our flesh, therefore it is reduced or referred to the blood of Christ. But these visible things, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, pass into the sacrament of the Divine body." Suidas in the word Ἐκκλησία; *σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἱερατεύει ὡς ἄνθρωπος· δέχεται δὲ τὰ προσφερόμενα ὡς Θεός· προσφέρει δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος σύμβολα, πᾶν τὸ φύραμα διὰ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς ἁγιάζουσα*: "Christ calls the church his body; and by her, as a man, he ministers: but as he is God, he receives what is offered. But the church offers the symbols of his body and blood, sanctifying the whole mass by the first fruits." 'Symbola,' i. e. 'Signa,' says the Latin version. The bread and wine are 'the signs' of his body and his blood. *Σύμβολα, σημεῖα*; so Suidas. Hesychius[f] speaking of this mystery, affirms, "Quòd simul panis et caro est;" "It is both bread and flesh too."—Fulgentius saith, "Hic calix est Novum Testamentum," i. e. "Hic calix, quem vobis trado, Novum Testamentum significat:" "This cup is the New Testament, that is, it signifies it." *Παρέδωκε γὰρ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος τοῖς μαθηταῖς*, said Procopius[g] of Gaza: "He gave to his disciples the image of his own body;" *σύμβολα ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀλήθεια*, said the scholiast upon Dionysius, the Areopagite; "These things are symbols, and not the truth, or verity:"—and he said it upon occasion of the same doctrine, which his author[h] (whom he explicates) taught in that chapter; *ἐπιτεθέντων τῷ Θείῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν σεβασμίων συμβόλων, δι' ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς σημαίνεται καὶ μετέχεται*, &c.

[e] Isidorus Hisp. lib. i. de offic. c. 18.
[f] Lib. xx. in Levit. c. 8.
[g] In Gen. xlix.
[h] In Eccles. hier. c. 3. Dionys. Eccles. hier. c. 3.

"The Divine symbols being placed upon the altar, by which Christ is signified and participated."—But this only I shall remark, that transubstantiation is so far from having been the primitive doctrine, that it was among catholics fiercely disputed in the time of Charles the Bald, about the year 880. Paschasius wrote for the substantial conversion; Rabanus maintained the contrary in his answer to Heribaldus, and in his writing to Abbot Egilo. There lived in the same time, in the court of Charles the emperor[l], a countryman of ours John Scot, called by some Johannes Erigena, who wrote a book against the substantial change in the sacrament; he lived also sometimes in England with king Alfred, and was surnamed 'the wise[k],' and was a martyr, saith Possevinus,—and was in the Roman calendar; his day was the fourth of the ides of November, as is to be seen in the martyrology published at Antwerp, 1486. But when the controversy grew public and noted, Charles the Bald commanded Bertram or Ratran to write upon the question, being of the monastery of Corbey: he did so, and defended our doctrine against Paschasius: the book is extant, and may be read by him that desires it; but it is so entire and dogmatical against the substantial change, which was the new doctrine of Paschasius, that Turrian[l] gives this account of it, to cite Bertram, what is it else, but to say that Calvin's heresy is not new? "And the Belgic expurgatory Index[m] professeth to use it with the same equity, which it useth to other catholic writers, in whom they tolerate many errors and extenuate or excuse them, and sometimes by inventing some device they do deny it, and put some fit sense to them when they are opposed in disputation; and this they do, lest the heretics should talk that they forbid and burn books that make against them." You see the honesty of the men; and the justness of their proceedings; but the Spanish expurgatory Index forbids the book wholly, with a 'penitus auferatur.'

I shall only add this, that, in the church of England, Bertram's doctrine prevailed longer; and, till Lanfranck's time, it was permitted to follow Bertram or Paschasius.

[l] A. D. 880.
[l] 1599.
[k] Apparat. tit. Johannes cognomento Sapiens.
[m] A. D. 1571. Antwerp.

And when Osbern wrote the lives of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, Dunstan, and Elphege, by the command of Lanfranck,—he says, that in Odo's time, some clergymen affirmed in the sacrament bread and wine to remain in substance, and to be Christ's body only in figure; and tells how the archbishop prayed, and blood dropped out of the host over the chalice, and so his clerks, which then assisted at mass, and were of another opinion, were convinced. This though he writes to please Lanfranck (who first gave authority to this opinion in England), and according to the opinion which then prevailed, yet it is an irrefragable testimony, that it was but a disputed article in Odo's time; no catholic doctrine, no article of faith, nor of a good while after: for however these clerks were fabulously reported to be changed at Odo's miracle, who could not convince them by the law and the prophets, by the gospels and epistles; yet his successor, he that was the fourth after him, I mean Ælfrick, abbot of St. Albans[n], and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, in his Saxon Homily, written above 600 years since, disputes the question, and determines in the words of Bertram only for a spiritual presence, not natural, or substantial. The book was printed at London by John Day, and with it a letter of Ælfrick to Wulfin, bishop of Schirburn, to the same purpose. His words are these: "That housel (that is, the blessed sacrament) is Christ's body, not bodily, but spiritually, not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed the bread and wine to housel the night before his suffering, and said by the blessed bread, 'This is my body.'" And in a writing to the archbishop of York, he said, "The Lord halloweth daily, by the hand of the priest, bread to his body, and wine to his blood in spiritual mystery, as we read in books. And yet, notwithstanding that lively bread is not bodily so, nor the self same body that Christ suffered in."—I end this with the words of the gloss upon the canon law[o]; "Cœleste sacramentum, quod verè repræsentat Christi carnem, dicitur corpus Christi, sed impropriè; unde dicitur suo modo, scilicet, non rei veritate, sed significati mysterio;

[n] Capgrave calls him abbot of St. Albans. Malmesb. saith, he was of Malmesbury, A. D. 996.

[o] De Consecrat. d. 2. Hoc est. Lugduni. 1518.

ut sit sensus, vocatur Christi corpus, *i. e.* significatur;" "The heavenly sacrament, which truly represents the flesh of Christ, is called the body of Christ; but improperly; therefore, it is said (meaning in the canon taken out of St. Austin) after the manner, to wit, not in the truth of the thing, but in the mystery of that which is signified; so that the meaning is, it is called Christ body, that is, Christ's body is signified;" which the church of Rome well expresses in an ancient hymn:

> **Sub duabus speciebus**
> **Signis tantùm et non rebus**
> **Latent res eximiæ.**

"Excellent things lie under the two species of bread and wine, which are only signs, not the things whereof they are signs."—But the Lateran council struck all dead; before which, "Transubstantiatiò non fuit dogma fidei," said Scotus, "it was no article of faith;"—and how can it be afterwards, since Christ is only the author and finisher of our faith, and therefore, all faith was delivered from the beginning, is a matter of highest danger and consideration. But yet this also I shall interpose, if it may do any service in the question, or help to remove a prejudice from our adversaries, who are borne up by the authority of that council; that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not determined by the great Lateran council. The word was first invented by Stephen, bishop of Augustodunum, about the year 1100, or a little after, in his book 'De Sacramento Altaris;' and the word did so please Pope Innocentius III., that he inserted it into one of the 70 canons, which he proposed to the Lateran council, A. D. 1215: which canons they heard read, but determined nothing concerning them, as Matthew Paris, Platina, and Nauclerus, witness. But they got reputation by being inserted by Gregory IX. into his 'Decretals,' which yet he did not in the name of the council, but of Innocentius to the council. But the first that ever published these canons under the name of the Lateran council, was Johannes Cochlæus, A. D. 1538. But the article was determined at Rome, 36 years after that council, by a general council of 54 prelates, and no more. And this was

the first authority or countenance it had; Stephen christened the article, and gave the name, and this congregation confirmed it.

SECTION XIII.

Of Adoration of the Sacrament.

When a proposition goes no further than the head and the tongue, it can carry nothing with it but his own appendages, viz. to be right or to be wrong, and the man to be deceived or not deceived in his judgment: but when it hath influence upon practice, it puts on a new investiture, and is tolerable or intolerable, according as it leads to actions good or bad. Now, in all the questions of Christendom, nothing is of greater effect or more material event, than this. For since by the decree of the council of Trent[a], they are bound to exhibit to the sacrament the same worship, which they give to the true God, either this sacrament is Jesus Christ, or else they are very idolaters; I mean materially such, even while, in their purposes, they decline it. I will not quarrel with the words of the decree commanding to give Divine worship to the sacrament[b]; which by the definition of their own schools, is 'an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace,' and so they worship the sign and the grace with the worship due to God: but that which I insist upon, is this: that if they be deceived in this difficult question, against which there lie such infinite presumptions and evidence of sense, and invincible reason, and grounds of Scripture,—and in which they are condemned by the primitive church, and by the common principles of all philosophy, and the nature of things,—and the analogy of the sacrament,—for which they had no warrant ever, till they made one of their own,—which themselves so little understand, that they know not how to explicate it,—nor agree in their own meaning, nor cannot

[a] Sess. 13. c. 5.

[b] Tantum ergo sacramentum adoremus cernui. Hymn. in Miss.

tell well what they mean;—if, I say, they be deceived in their own strict article, besides the strict sense of which there are so many ways of verifying the words of Christ, upon which all sides do rely; then it is certain they commit an act of idolatry in giving Divine honour to a mere creature, which is the image, the sacrament, and representment of the body of Christ: and at least, it is not certain that they are right; there are certainly very great probabilities against them, which ought to abate their confidence in the article; and though I am persuaded, that the arguments against them are unanswerable;—for if I did not think so, then I shall be able to answer them, and if I were not able to answer, I would not seek to persuade others by that which does not persuade me;—yet all indifferent persons, that is, all those, who will suffer themselves to be determined by something besides interest and education, must needs say they cannot be certain they are right, against whom there are so many arguments, that they are in the wrong: the commandment to worship God alone is so express;—the distance between God and bread dedicated to the service of God is so vast,—the danger of worshipping that which is not God, or of not worshipping that which is God, is so formidable,—that it is infinitely to be presumed, that if it had been intended that we should have worshipped the holy sacrament, the holy Scripture would have called it, 'God,' or 'Jesus Christ,'—or have bidden us, in express terms, to have adored it; that either by the first, as by a reason indicative,—or by the second, as by a reason imperative,—we might have had sufficient warrant direct or consequent, to have paid a Divine worship. Now that there is no implicit warrant in the sacramental words of "This is my body," I have given very many reasons to evince, by proving the words to be sacramental and figurative. Add to this; that supposing Christ present in their senses, yet as they have ordered the business, they have made it superstitious and idololatrical; for they declare that the Divine worship does belong also to the symbols of bread and wine, as being 'one with Christ;' they are the words of Bellarmine[c];—that even the species also with Christ are to be

[c] Lib. iv. de Euch. c. 29. tom. 2. in 3. Thom. disp. 65. sect. 1.

adored; so Suarez:—which doctrine might, upon the supposal of their grounds, be excused; if, as Claudius de Sainctes dreamed, they and the body of Christ had but one existence; but this themselves admit not of, but he is confuted by Suarez. But then let it be considered, that since those species or accidents are not inherent in the holy body, nor have their existence from it, but wholly subsist by themselves (as they dream), since, between them and the holy body, there is no substantial, no personal union, it is not imaginable how they can pass divine worship to those accidents which are not in the body, nor the same with the body, but by an impossible supposition subsist of themselves, and were proper to bread, and now not communicable to Christ, and yet not commit idolatry: especially since the Nestorians were, by the fathers, called ἀνθρωπολάτραι, or 'worshippers of a man;' because they worshipped the humanity of Christ, which they supposed, not to be personally, but habitually united to the divinity.

2. But secondly: suppose that the article were true in 'thesi,' and, that the bread in consecration was changed, as they suppose; yet it is to be considered, that that which is practicable in this article, is yet made as uncertain and dangerous as before. For, by many defects, secret and insensible, by many, notorious and evident, the change may be hindered, and the symbols still remain as very bread and wine as ever, and rob God of his honour. For, if the priest errs in reciting the words of consecration, by addition, or diminution, or alteration, or longer interruption; if he do but say, 'Hoc est cor pusmeum,' for 'corpus meum,—or 'meum corpus' for 'corpus meum;' or, if he do but as the priest that Agrippa[d] tells of, that said, 'Hæc sunt corpora mea,' lest, consecrating many hosts, he should speak false Latin: if either the priest be timorous, surprised, or intemperate,—in all these cases, the priest and the people too, worship nothing but bread. And some of these are the more considerable, I mean, those defectibilities in pronunciation; because, the priest always speaking[e] the words of consecra-

[d] De Vanit. Scien. c. 3.

[e] Concil. Trid. Sess. 22. can. 9. Ledesmo ait Sacerdotem isto Canone prohiberi clarâ voce eloqui verba consecrationis.

tion in a secret voice, not to be heard, none of the people can have any notice whether he speaks the words so sufficiently as to secure them from worshipping a piece of bread. If none of all these happen, yet, if he do not intend to consecrate all, but some, and yet know not which to omit; if he do intend but to mock; if he be a secret atheist, a Moor, or a Jew; if he be an impious person, and laugh at the sacrament; if he do not intend to do as the church does; that is, if his intention be neither actual, nor real: then, in all these cases, the people give Divine worship to that which is nothing but bread: but if none of all this happen, yet, if he be not a priest, 'quod sæpe accidit,' saith Pope Adrianus VI., 'in quæst. quodlib. q. 3.,' it often happens, that the priest feigns himself to celebrate, and does not celebrate; or, feigns himself to celebrate, and is no priest; if he be not baptized rightly; if there was in his person, as by being simoniack, or irregular, a bastard, or bigamus, or any other impediment, which he can, or cannot know of; if there was any defect in his baptism, or ordinations, or in the baptism and ordination of him that ordained him, or in all the succession from the head of the διαδοχὴ, from the apostles that first began the series;—in all these cases, it cannot but be acknowledged by their own doctrine, that the consecration is invalid and ineffective, the product is nothing, but a piece of bread is made the object of the Divine worship. Well! suppose that none of all this happens, yet there are many defects in respect of the matter also: as if the bread be corrupted; or the wine be vinegar; if it be mingled with any other substance but water; or if the water be the prevailing ingredient; or if the bread be not wheat; or the wine be of sour, or be of unripe grapes; in all these cases nothing is changed, but bread remains still, λιτὸς ἄρτος, 'mere bread,' and 'mere wine;' and yet they are worshipped by divine adoration

3. Thirdly: When certain of the society of jesuits were to die by the laws of England, in the beginning of king James's reign; it was asked them, whether, if they might have leave to say mass, they would to the people standing by, for the confirmation of their doubt, and to convert them, say these words: "Unless this whole species you see in the chalice, be the same blood, which did flow out of the side

of the crucifix, or of Christ hanging on the cross,—let there be no part for me in the blood of Christ, or in Christ himself to eternal ages:" and so, with these words in their mouths, yield to death; they all denied it, none of them would take such a sacrament upon them. And when Garnet, that unhappy man, was tempted to the same sense; he answered, 'that a man might well doubt of the particular.' No man was bound to believe that any one priest in particular, now, or at any one certain time, does consecrate effectively[f]; but that the bread is transubstantiated some where or other, at some time or other, by some priest or other. This I receive from the relation of a wise prelate[g], a great and a good man, whose memory is precious, and is had in honour. But the effect of this is, that transubstantiation, supposing the doctrine true (as it is most false), yet in practice is uncertain; but the giving it divine worship is certain; the change is believed only in general, but it is worshipped in particular; concerning which, whether it be any thing more than bread, it is impossible, without a revelation, they should know. These, then, are very ill, and deeply to be considered; for certain it is, 'God is a jealous God,' and, therefore, will be impatient of every encroachment upon his peculiar. And then for us, as we must pray with faith, and without doubting, so it is fit we should worship; and yet in this case, and upon these premises, no man can choose but doubt; and, therefore, he cannot, he ought not, to worship; "Quod dubitas, ne feceris."

4. I will not censure, concerning the men that do it, or consider concerning the action, whether it be formal idolatry or no. God is their judge and mine, and I beg he would be pleased to have mercy upon us all; but yet they that are interested for their own particulars, ought to fear and consider these things. 1. That no man, without his own fault, can mistake a creature so far, as to suppose him to be a God. 2. That when the heathens worshipped the sun and moon, they did it upon their confidence that they were gods; and would not have given to them divine honours, if they had thought otherwise. 3. That the distinction of material

[f] Vide Bonavent. in 3. dist. 24. a. 1. q. 1.
[g] Bishop Andrews Resp. ad apolog. Bellarm. p. 7.

and formal idolatry, though it have a place in philosophy, because the understanding can consider an act with his error, and yet separate the parts of the consideration; yet hath no place in divinity; because, in things of so great concernment, it cannot but be supposed highly agreeable to the goodness and justice of God, that every man be sufficiently instructed in his duty and convenient notices. 4. That no man in the world, upon these grounds, except he that is malicious and spiteful, can be an idolater; for, if he have an ignorance, great enough to excuse him, he can be no idolater; if he have not, he is spiteful and malicious; and then all the heathens are also excused as well as they. 5. That if good intent and ignorance, in such cases, can take off the crime,—then the persecutors that killed the apostles, thinking they did God good service, and Saul, in blaspheming the religion, and persecuting the servants of Jesus, and the Jews themselves, in crucifying the Lord of life, "who did it ignorantly, as did also their rulers," have met with their excuse upon the same account. And, therefore, it is not safe, for the men of the Roman communion to take anodyne medicines and narcotic, to make them insensible of the pain; for it will not cure their disease. Their doing it upon the stock of error and ignorance, I hope, will dispose them to receive a pardon: but yet that also supposes them criminal; and though I would not, for all the world, be their accuser, or the aggravator of the crime; yet I am not unwilling to be their remembrancer, that themselves may avoid the danger. For though Jacob was innocent, in lying with Leah instead of Rachel, because he had no cause to suspect the deception: yet, if Penelope, who had not seen Ulysses in twenty years, should see one come to her, nothing like Ulysses, but saying he were her husband, she should give but an ill account of her chastity, if she should actually admit him to her bed, only saying, 'if you be Ulysses, or upon supposition that you are Ulysses, I admit you.' For, if she certainly admits him, of whom she is uncertain if he be her husband, she certainly is an adulteress: because she, having reason to doubt, ought first to be satisfied of her question. Since, therefore, besides the insuperable doubts of the main article itself, in the practice and the particulars, there are acknowledged so many ways of deception, and confessed that the

actual failings are frequent (as I showed before out of pope Adrian), it will be but a weak excuse to say, 'I worship thee if thou be the Son of God, but I do not worship thee, if thou beest not consecrated;' and, in the mean-time, the divine worship is actually exhibited to what is set before us. At the best we may say to these men, as our blessed Saviour to the woman of Samaria, "ye worship ye know not what; but we know what we worship." For, concerning the action of adoration, this I am to say, that it is a fit address in the day of solemnity, with a 'sursum corda,' with 'our hearts lift up' to heaven, where Christ sits (we are sure) at the right hand of the Father, for "nemo dignè manducat, nisi priùs adoraverit," said S. Austin; "no man eats Christ's body worthily, but he that first adores Christ." But to terminate the divine worship to the sacrament, to that which we eat, is so unreasonable and unnatural[h], and withal, so scandalous, that Averroes, observing it to be used among the Christians, with whom he had the ill fortune to converse, said these words: "Quandoquidem Christiani adorant quod comedunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis[i]:" "Since Christians worship what they eat, let my soul be with the philosophers." If the man had conversed with those, who better understood the article, and were more religious and wise in their worshippings, possibly he might have been invited by the excellency of the institution to become a Christian. But they that give scandal to Jews by their images, and leaving out the second commandment from their catechisms, give offence to the Turks by worshipping the sacrament, and to all reasonable men by striving against two or three sciences, and the notices of all mankind. "We worship the flesh of Christ in the mysteries (saith Ambrose), as the apostles did worship it in our Saviour[k]."—For we receive the mysteries as representing and exhibiting to our souls the flesh and blood of Christ; so that we worship it in the sumption, and venerable usages of the signs of his body. But we give no divine honour to the signs: we do not call the sacrament our God. And let it be considered, whether, if the primitive church had ever done, or taught, that the divine worship ought to be given to the

[h] Vide Theodoret quæst. 55. in Genes. et q. 11. in Levit.

[i] Ἀξελτιφίας ἰσχάτης τὸ ἐσθιόμενον προσκυνεῖν. Theodoret q. in Gen. q. 55.

[k] De Spir. S. l. 3. c. 12.

sacrament, it had not been certain, that the heathen would have retorted most of the arguments upon their heads, by which the Christians reproved their worshipping of images. The Christians upbraided them with worshipping the works of their hands; to which themselves gave what figure they pleased, and then, by certain forms, consecrated them, and made, by invocation, (as they supposed) a divinity to dwell there. They objected to them, that they worshipped that which could neither see, nor hear, nor smell, nor taste, nor move, nor understand: that which could grow old, and perish,—that could be broken and burned,—that was subject to the injury of rats and mice, of worms, and creeping things,—that can be taken by enemies, and carried away,—that is kept under lock and key, for fear of thieves and sacrilegious persons. Now, if the church of those ages had thought and practised, as they have done at Rome, in these last ages, might not they have said, 'Why may not we as well as you? Do not you worship that with Divine honours, and call it your God, which can be burnt, and broken, which yourselves form into a round or square figure, which the oven first hardens, and then your priests consecrate, and, by invocation, make to be your God,—which can see no more, nor hear, nor smell, than the silver and gold upon our images? Do not you adore that which rats and mice eat, which can grow mouldy and sour, which you keep under locks and bars, for fear your God be stolen? Did not Lewis IX. pawn your God to the soldan of Egypt, insomuch that to this day the Egyptian escutcheons, by way of triumph, bear upon them a pix with a wafer in it: true it is, that if we are beaten from our cities, we carry our Gods with us; but, did not the jesuits carry your host (which you call God) about their necks from Venice, in the time of the interdict? And now, why do you reprove that in us which you do in yourselves? What could have been answered to them, if the doctrine, and accidents of their time, had furnished them with these, or the like instances? In vain it would have been to have replied; 'yea, but ours is the true God, and yours are false gods.'—For they would easily have made a rejoinder; and said, that this is to be proved by some other argument; in the mean-time, all your objections against our worshipping of images, return violently upon

you. Upon this account, since none of the witty and subtle adversaries of Christianity ever did, or could make this defence by way of recrimination, it is certain, there was no occasion given; and, therefore those trifling pretences made out of some sayings of the fathers, pretending the practice of worshipping the sacrament, must needs be sophistry, and illusion, and can need no particular consideration. But if any man can think them at all considerable, I refer him to be satisfied by Michael le Faucheur, in his voluminous confutation of Cardinal Perron[1]. I, for my part, am weary of the infinite variety of argument in this question; and, therefore, shall only observe this, that antiquity does frequently use the words προσκύνητος, σεβασμιώτατος, θειὸς, προσκυνούμενος, 'venerable,' 'adorable,' 'worshipful,' to every thing that ought to be received with great reverence, and used with regard: to princes, to laws, to baptism, to bishops, to priests, to the ears of priests, the cross, the chalice, the temples, the words of Scripture, the feasts of Easter; and upon the same account, by which it is pretended, that some of the fathers taught the adoration of the Eucharist, we may also infer the adoration of all the other instances. But that which proves too much, proves nothing at all.

These are the grounds by which I am myself established, and by which I persuade or confirm others in this article.

I end with the words of the fathers in the council[m] of Constantinople, ἄρτου οὐσίαν προσ ἐταξε προσφέρεσθαι, μὴ σχηματίζουσαν ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῇ. "Christ commanded the substance of bread to be offered, not in the shape of a man, lest idolatry should be introduced."

Gloria Deo in excelsis:
In terris pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.

[1] Lib. 4. c. 3. de la Cêne du Seigneur. [m] A. D. 745.

A

DISSUASIVE

FROM

POPERY.

PART I.

THE

PREFACE TO THE READER.

When a Roman gentleman had, to please himself, written a book in Greek, and presented it to Cato; he desired him to pardon the faults of his expressions, since he wrote in Greek, which was a tongue, in which he was not perfect master. Cato told him, he had better then to have let it alone, and written in Latin; by how much it is better not to commit a fault, than to make apologies. For if the thing be good, it needs not to be excused; if it be not good, a crude apology will do nothing but confess the fault, but never make amends. I, therefore, make this address to all, who will concern themselves in reading this book, not to ask their pardon for my fault in doing of it; I know of none; for if I had known them, I would have mended them before the publication; and yet, though I know not any, I do not question but much fault will be found by too many; I wish I have given them no cause for their so doing. But I do not only mean it in the particular periods,

where every man that is not a son of the church of England or Ireland, will at least do as Apollonius did to the apparition that affrighted his company on the mountain Caucasus;—he will revile and persecute me with evil words; but I mean it in the whole design, and men will reasonably or capriciously ask, Why any more controversies? Why this over again? Why against the papists, against whom so very many are already exasperated, that they cry out fiercely of persecution? And why can they not be suffered to enjoy their share of peace, which hath returned in the hands of his sacred Majesty, at his blessed restauration? For as much of this as concerns myself I make no excuse, but give my reasons, and hope to justify this procedure with that modesty which David used to his angry brother, saying, "What have I now done? is there not a cause?" The cause is this:

The reverend fathers, my lords the bishops of Ireland, in their circumspection and watchfulness over their flocks, having espied grievous wolves to have entered in, some with sheep's clothing, and some without, some secret enemies, and some open, at first endeavoured to give check to those enemies, which had put fire into the bed-straw;

and though God hath very much prospered their labours, yet they have work enough to do, and will have, till God shall call them home to the land of peace and unity. But it was soon remembered, that when King James, of blessed memory, had discerned the spirits of the English nonconformists, and found them peevish and factious, unreasonable and imperious, not only unable to govern, but as inconsistent with the government, as greedy to snatch at it for themselves; resolved to take off their disguise, and put a difference between conscience and faction, and to bring them to the measures and rules of laws; and to this the council and all wise men were consenting, because by the King's great wisdom, and the conduct of the whole confederence and inquiry, men saw there was reason on the King's side, and necessity on all sides. But the gunpowder treason breaking out, a new zeal was enkindled against the papists; and it shined so greatly, that the nonconformists escaped by the light of it, and quickly grew warm by the heat of that flame, to which they added no small increase by their declamations and other acts of insinuation: insomuch that they, being neglected, multiplied until they got power enough to do all those mischiefs which we have seen and felt. This being remembered and spoken of, it was soon

observed that the tables only were now turned, and that now the public zeal and watchfulness against those men and those persuasions, which so lately have afflicted us, might give to the emissaries of the church of Rome, leisure and opportunity to grow into numbers and strength to debauch many souls, and to unhinge the safety and peace of the kingdom. In Ireland, we saw too much of it done, and found the mischief growing too fast, and the most intolerable inconveniencies but too justly apprehended, as near and imminent. We had reason at least to cry fire when it flamed through our very roofs, and to interpose with all care and diligence, when religion and the eternal interest of souls was at stake, as knowing we should be greatly unfit to appear and account to the great bishop and shepherd of souls, if we had suffered the enemies to sow tares in our fields, we standing and looking on. It was therefore considered, how we might best serve God, and rescue our charges from their danger; and it was concluded presently to run to arms, I mean, to the weapons of our warfare, to the armour of the spirit, to the works of our calling, and to tell the people of their peril, to warn them of the enemy, and to lead them in the ways of truth, and peace, and holiness: that if they would be admonished,

they might be safe; if they would not, they should be without excuse, because they could not say but the prophets have been amongst them.

But then it was next inquired, Who should minister in this affair, and put in order all those things which they had to give in charge: it was easy to choose many, but hard to choose one; there were many fit to succeed in the vacant apostleship; and though Barsabas the Just was, by all the church, named as a fit and worthy man, yet the lot fell upon Matthias; and that was my case: it fell to me to be their amanuensis, when persons most worthy were more readily excused; and in this my lords the bishops had reason; that (according to St. Paul's[a] rule) "If there be judgments or controversies amongst us, they should be employed who are least esteemed in the church;" and upon this account I had nothing left me but obedience; though I confess that I found regret in the nature of the employment, for I love not to be (as St. Paul calls it) one of the συζητηταὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, "Disputers of this world." For I suppose skill in controversies (as they are now used) to be the worst part of learning, and time is the worst spent in them, and men the least benefited

[a] 1 Cor. i. 20.

by them; that is, when the questions are curious and impertinent, intricate and inexplicable, not to make men better, but to make a sect. But when the propositions disputed are of the foundation of faith, or lead to good life, or naturally do good to single persons or public societies, then they are part of the depositum of Christianity, of the analogy of faith; and for this we are, by the apostle, commanded to contend earnestly, and, therefore, controversies may become necessary; but because they are not often so, but oftentimes useless, and always troublesome; and as an ill diet makes an ill habit of body, so does the frequent use of controversies baffle the understanding, and makes it crafty to deceive others, itself remaining instructed in nothing but useless notions and words of contingent signification and distinctions without difference, which minister to pride and contention, and teach men to be pertinacious, troublesome, and uncharitable; therefore, I love them not.

But, because, by the apostolical rule[b], I am tied "to do all things without murmurings," as well as without "disputings," I considered it over again, and found myself relieved by the subject matter,

[b] Phil. ii. 14.

and the grand consequent of the present questions. For, in the present affair, the case is not so as in the others; here the questions are such, that the church of Rome declares them to reach as far as eternity, and damns all that are not of their opinions; and the protestants have much more reason to fear concerning the papists, such who are not excused by ignorance, that their condition is very sad and deplorable, and that it is charity to snatch them as a brand from the fire; and, indeed, the church of Rome maintains propositions, which, if the ancient doctors of the church may be believed, are apt to separate from God. I instance, in their superaddition of articles and propositions, derived only from a pretended tradition, and not contained in Scripture. Now, the doing of this is a great sin, and a great danger. "Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem; si non est scriptum, timeat væ illud adjicientibus et detrahentibus destinatum," said Tertullian: "I adore the fulness of Scripture; and if it be not written, let Hermogenes fear the woe that is destined to them that detract from, or add to it[c]."

S. Basil says[d], "Without doubt, it is a most manifest argument of infidelity, and a most certain

[c] Contra Hermogen.
[d] De vera Fide et Moral. reg. 72. c. 1. et reg. 80. c. 22.

sign of pride, to introduce any thing that is not written (in the Scriptures); our blessed Saviour having said, 'My sheep hear my voice, and the voice of strangers they will not hear;' and to detract from Scriptures, or add any thing to the faith that is not there, is most vehemently forbidden by the apostle, saying, if it be but a man's testament, 'nemo superordinat,' 'no man adds to it'.—And says also, 'This was the will of the testator'.—And Theophilus Alexandrinus says plainly[e], "It is the part of a devilish spirit to think any thing to be Divine, that is not in the authority of the holy Scriptures;"—and, therefore, S. Athanasius affirms[f], that "the catholics will neither speak nor endure to hear any thing in religion that is a stranger to Scripture;" it being 'immodestiæ vecordia,' 'an evil heart of immodesty,' to speak those things which are not written. Now, let any man judge, whether it be not our duty, and a necessary work of charity, and the proper office of our ministry, to persuade our charges from the 'immodesty of an evil heart,' from having 'a devilish spirit,' from doing that 'which is vehemently forbidden by the apostle,' from 'infidelity and pride,' and, lastly, from that 'eternal woe which is denounced' against them that add

[e] Epist. Pasch. 2. [f] De Incarn. Christi.

other words and doctrines, than what is contained in the Scriptures, and say, 'Dominus dixit,' 'The Lord hath said it,' and he hath not said it. If we had put these severe censures upon the popish doctrine of tradition, we should have been thought uncharitable; but because the holy fathers do so, we ought to be charitable, and snatch our charges from the ambient flame. . . . .

And thus it is in the question of images; "Dubium non est, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est," said Lactantius[g]; "without all peradventure, wherever an image is, (meaning for worship) there is no religion;" and that "we ought rather to die than pollute our faith with such impieties," said Origen[h]. "It is against the law of nature, it being expressly forbidden by the second commandment," as Irenæus affirms, Tertullian, Cyprian, and S. Austin; and, therefore, is it not great reason we should contend for that faith which forbids all worship of images, and oppose the superstition of such guides who do teach their people to give them veneration, to prevaricate the moral law, and the very law of nature, and do that which whosoever does, has no religion. We know idolatry is a damnable sin,

[g] Lib. 2. cap. de Origin. Error. [h] Lib. 7. contra Celsum.

and we also know, that the Roman church, with all the artifices she could use, never can justify herself, or acquit the common practices from idolatry; and yet, if it were but suspicious that it is idolatry, it were enough to awaken us: for God is a jealous God, and will not endure any such causes of suspicion, and motives of jealousy. I instance but once more.

The primitive church did excommunicate them that did not receive the holy sacrament in both kinds[1], and S. Ambrose says, that "he who receives the mystery, otherways than Christ appointed, (that is, but in one kind, when he hath appointed it in two) is unworthy of the Lord, and he cannot have devotion." Now this thing we ought not to suffer, that our people, by so doing, should remain unworthy of the Lord, and for ever be indevout, or cozened with a false show of devotion, or fall by following evil guides into the sentence of excommunication. These matters are not trifling, and when we see these errors frequently taught and owned as the only true religion, and yet are such evils, which the fathers say are the way of damnation; we have reason to hope, that all wise and good men, lovers of souls, will confess that we

[1] Can. Competimus de Consecr. dist. 2. in 1 Cor. 11.

are within the circles of our duty, when we teach our people to decline the crooked ways, and to walk in the ways of Scripture and Christianity.

But, we have observed, amongst the generality of the Irish, such a declension of Christianity, so great credulity to believe every superstitious story, such confidence in vanity, such groundless pertinacity, such vicious lives, so little sense of true religion and the fear of God, so much care to obey the priests, and so little to obey God; such intolerable ignorance, such fond oaths and manners of swearing, thinking themselves more obliged by swearing on the mass-book, than the four gospels, and S. Patrick's mass-book more than any new one; swearing by their father's soul, by their gossip's hand, by other things which are the product of those many tales are told them; their not knowing upon what account they refuse to come to church, but now they are old and never did, or their countrymen do not, or their fathers or grandfathers never did, or that their ancestors were priests, and they will not alter from their religion; and after all, can give no account of their religion, what it is: only, they believe as their priest bids them, and go to mass, which they understand not, and reckon their beads, to tell the number and the tale of their prayers, and abstain from eggs and

flesh in Lent, and visit St. Patrick's well, and leave pins and ribands, yarn, or thread, in their holy wells, and pray to God, St. Mary and St. Patrick, St. Columbanus, and St. Bridget, and desire to be buried with St. Francis's cord about them, and to fast on Saturdays in honour of our lady. These and so many other things of like nature, we see daily, that we, being conscious of the infinite distance, which these things have from the spirit of Christianity, know that no charity can be greater than to persuade the people to come to our churches, where they shall be taught all the ways of godly wisdom, of peace and safety to their souls: whereas now there are many of them that know not how to say their prayers, but mutter, like pies and parrots, words which they are taught, but they do not pretend to understand.

But I shall give one particular instance of their miserable superstition and blindness.

I was lately, within a few months, very much troubled with petitions and earnest requests for the restoring a bell, which a person of quality had in his hands in the time of, and ever since, the late rebellion. I could not guess at the reasons of their so great and violent importunity, but told the petitioners, if they could prove that bell to be theirs, the gentleman was willing to pay the full value of

it; though he had no obligation to do so, that I know of, but charity: but this was so far from satisfying them, that still the importunity increased, which made me diligently to inquire into the secret of it. The first cause I found was, that a dying person in the parish desired to have it rung before him to church, and pretended he could not die in peace if it were denied him; and that the keeping of that bell did anciently belong to that family, from father to son: but because this seemed nothing but a fond and an unreasonable superstition, I inquired further, and at last found, that they believed this bell came from heaven, and that it used to be carried from place to place, and to end controversies by oath, which the worst men durst not violate if they swore upon that bell, and the best men amongst them durst not but believe him; that if this bell was rung before the corpse to the grave, it would help him out of purgatory; and that, therefore, when any one died, the friends of the deceased did, whilst the bell was in their possession, hire it for the behoof of their dead, and that, by this means, that family was in part maintained. I was troubled to see under what spirit of delusion those poor souls do lie, how infinitely their credulity is abused, how certainly they believe in trifles, and perfectly rely on vanity, and how little they regard the truths of

God, and how not at all they drink of the waters of salvation. For the numerous companies of priests and friars amongst them take care they shall know nothing of religion, but what they design for them; they use all means to keep them to the use of the Irish tongue, lest, if they learn English, they might be supplied with persons fitter to instruct them; the people are taught to make that also their excuse for not coming to our churches, to hear our advices, or converse with us in religious intercourses, because they understand us not, and they will not understand us, neither will they learn that they may understand and live. And this and many other evils are made greater and more irremediable by the affrightment which their priests put upon them by the issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by which (they now exercising it too publicly) they give them laws, not only for religion, but even for temporal things, and turn their proselytes from the mass, if they become farmers of the tithes from the minister or proprietary, without their leave. I speak that which I know to be true, by their own confession, and unconstrained and uninvited narratives; so that as it is certain that the Roman religion, as it stands in distinction and separation from us, is a body of strange propositions, having but little relish of true primitive and pure Christianity,

(as will be made manifest, if the importunity of our adversaries extort it); so it is here amongst us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living, a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be 'populus unius labii,' 'a people of one language,' and unmingled with others. And if this be religion, it is such a one as ought to be reproved by all the severities of reason and religion, lest the people perish, and their souls be cheaply given away to them that make merchandise of souls, who were the purchase and price of Christ's blood.

Having given this sad account, why it was necessary that my lords the bishops should take care to do what they have done in this affair, and why I did consent to be engaged in this controversy, otherwise than I love to be; and since it is not a love of trouble and contention, but charity to the souls of the poor deluded Irish: there is nothing remaining, but that we humbly desire of God to accept and to bless this well-meant labour of love, and that, by some admirable ways of his providence, he will be pleased to convey to them the notices of their danger, and their sin, and to deobstruct the passages of necessary truth to them; for we know the arts of their guides, and that it will be very hard that the notice of these things shall ever be

suffered to arrive to the common people, but that which hinders, will hinder, until it be taken away: however, we believe and hope in God for remedy.

For although Edom would not let his brother Israel pass into his country, and the Philistines would stop the patriarch's wells, and the wicked shepherds of Midian would drive their neighbours' flocks from the watering troughs, and the emissaries of Rome use all arts to keep the people from the use of Scriptures, the wells of salvation, and from entertaining the notices of such things which, from the Scriptures, we teach; yet as God found out a remedy for those of old, so he will also for the poor misled people of Ireland; and will take away the evil minds, or the opportunities of the adversaries hindering the people from instruction, and make way that the truths we have here taught, may approach to their ears, and sink into their hearts, and make them wise unto salvation. Amen.

A

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY

TO THE

PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

PART I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE questions of difference between our churches and the church of Rome, have been so often disputed, and the evidences on both sides so often produced, that to those, who are strangers to the present constitution of affairs, it may seem very unnecessary to say them over again: and yet it will seem almost impossible to produce any new matter; or if we could, it will not be probable, that what can be newly alleged, can prevail more than all that, which already hath been so often urged in these questions. But we are not deterred from doing our duty by any such considerations; as knowing, that the same medicaments are, with success, applied to a returning or an abiding ulcer; and the preachers of God's word must for ever be ready to put the people in mind of such things, which they already have heard, and, by the same Scriptures, and the same reasons, endeavour to destroy their sin, or prevent their danger; and, by the same word of God, to extirpate those errors, which have had opportunity, in the time of our late disorders, to spring up and grow stronger, not when the keepers of the field slept, but when they were wounded, and their hands cut off, and their mouths stopped, lest they should continue or proceed to do the work of God thoroughly.

A little warm sun, and some indulgent showers of a softer rain, have made many weeds of erroneous doctrine to take root greatly, and to spread themselves widely: and the bigots of the Roman church, by their late importune boldness and indiscreet forwardness in making proselytes, have but too manifestly declared to all the world, that if they were 'rerum potiti,' 'masters of our affairs,' they would suffer nothing to grow but their own colocynths and gourds. And although the natural remedy for this were to take away that impunity, upon the account of which alone they do increase; yet because we shall never be authors of such counsels, but confidently rely upon God, the holy Scriptures, right reason, and the most venerable and prime antiquity, which are the proper defensatives of truth for its support and maintenance; yet we must not conceal from the people committed to our charges, the great evils, to which they are tempted by the Roman emissaries, that while the king and the parliament take care to secure all the public interests by instruments of their own, we also may, by the word of our proper ministry, endeavour to stop the progression of such errors, which we know to be destructive of Christian religion, and, consequently, dangerous to the interest of souls.

In this procedure, although we shall say some things, which have not been always placed before their eyes, and others we shall represent with a fitness to their present necessities, and all with charity too, and zeal for their souls, yet if we were to say nothing, but what hath been often said already, we are still doing the work of God, and repeating his voice, and by the same remedies curing the same diseases, and we only wait for the blessing of God prospering that importunity which is our duty: according to the advice of Solomon, "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good[a]."

[a] Eccles. xi. 6.

CHAPTER I.

The Doctrine of the Roman Church, in the controverted Articles, is neither catholic, apostolic, nor primitive.

SECTION I.

It was the challenge of St. Austin to the Donatists [a], who (as the church of Rome does at this day) enclosed the catholic church within their own circuits: "Ye say that Christ is heir of no lands, but where Donatus is coheir. Read this to us out of the law and the prophets, out of the Psalms, out of the Gospel itself, or out of the letters of the apostles: read it thence and we believe it:"—plainly directing us to the fountains of our faith, the Old and New Testament, the words of Christ, and the words of the apostles. For nothing else can be the fountain of our faith: whatsoever came in after these, "foris est," it belongs not unto Christ [b].

To these we also add, not as authors or finishers, but as helpers of our faith, and heirs of the doctrine apostolical, the sentiments and catholic doctrine of the church of God, in the ages next after the apostles. Not that we think them or ourselves bound to every private opinion, even of a primitive bishop and martyr; but that we all acknowledge that the whole church of God kept the faith entire, and transmitted faithfully to the after-ages the whole faith, τύπον διδαχῆς, "the form of doctrine, and sound words, which was at first delivered to the saints," and was defective in nothing that belonged unto salvation; and we believe that those ages sent millions of saints to the bosom of Christ, and sealed the true faith with their lives and with their deaths, and by both gave testimony unto Jesus, and had from him the testimony of his Spirit.

And this method of procedure we now choose, not only because to them that know well how to use it, to the sober and moderate, the peaceable and the wise, it is the best, the

[a] De Unit. Eccles. c. 6.

[b] Ecclesia ex sacris et canonicis Scripturis ostendenda est; quæque ex illis ostendi non potest, ecclesia non est. S. Aug. de Unit. Eccle. c. 4. et c. 5. Ibi quæramus ecclesiam, ibi deprehendamus causam nostram.

most certain, visible and tangible, most humble and satisfactory; but also because the church of Rome does, with greatest noises, pretend her conformity to antiquity. Indeed the present Roman doctrines, which are in difference, were invisible and unheard of in the first and best antiquity, and with how ill success their quotations are out of the fathers of the three first ages, every inquiring man may easily discern. But the noises, therefore, which they make, are from the writings of the succeeding ages; where secular interest did more prevail, and the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous, full of controversy and ambiguous senses, fitted to their own times and questions, full of proper opinions, and such variety of sayings, that both sides, eternally and inconfutably, shall bring sayings for themselves respectively. Now although things being thus, it will be impossible for them to conclude from the sayings of a number of fathers, that their doctrine, which they would prove thence, was the catholic doctrine of the church; because any number that is less than all, does not prove a catholic consent: yet the clear sayings of one or two of these fathers, truly alleged by us to the contrary, will certainly prove that what many of them (suppose it) do affirm, and which but two or three as good catholics as the other do deny, was not then matter of faith, or a doctrine of the church; for if it had, these had been accounted heretics, and not have remained in the communion of the church. But although for the reasonableness of the thing, we have thought fit to take notice of it; yet we shall have no need to make use of it, since, not only in the prime and purest antiquity, we are indubitably more than conquerors, but even in the succeeding ages, we have the advantage both 'numero, pondere, et mensurâ,' 'in number, weight, and measure.'

We do easily acknowledge, that to dispute these questions from the sayings of the fathers, is not the readiest way to make an end of them; but, therefore, we do wholly rely upon Scriptures, as the foundation and final resort of all our persuasions, and from thence can never be confuted; but we also admit the fathers as admirable helps for the understanding of the Scriptures, and as good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them, of what the church esteemed the way of salvation: and, there-

fore, if we find any doctrine now taught, which was not placed in their way of salvation, we reject it as being no part of the Christian faith, and which ought not to be imposed upon consciences. They were "wise unto salvation," and "fully instructed to every good work;" and, therefore, the faith, which they professed and derived from Scripture, we profess also; and in the same faith, we hope to be saved even as they. But for the new doctors, we understand them not, we know them not: our faith is the same from the beginning, and cannot become new.

But because we shall make it to appear, that they do greatly innovate in all their points of controversy with us, and show nothing but shadows instead of substances, and little images of things instead of solid arguments; we shall take from them their armour in which they trusted, and choose this sword of Goliah to combat their errors; for "non est alter talis;" it is not easy to find a better than the word of God, expounded by the prime and best antiquity.

The first thing, therefore, we are to advertise is, that the emissaries of the Roman church endeavour to persuade the good people of our dioceses, from a religion that is truly primitive and apostolic, and divert them to propositions of their own, new and unheard of in the first ages of the Christian church.

For the religion of our church is, therefore, certainly primitive and apostolic, because it teaches us to believe the whole Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and nothing else, as matter of faith; and, therefore, unless there can be new Scriptures, we can have no new matters of belief, no new articles of faith. Whatsoever we cannot prove from thence, we disclaim it, as not deriving from the fountains of our Saviour. We also do believe the apostles' creed, the Nicene, with the additions of Constantinople, and that which is commonly called the symbol of St. Athanasius: and the four first general councils are so entirely admitted by us, that they, together with the plain words of Scripture, are made the rule and measure of judging heresies amongst us; and in pursuance of these, it is commanded by our church, that the clergy shall never teach any thing as matter of "faith, religiously to be observed, but that which is agreeable to the Old and New Testament, and collected out of the same

doctrine, by the ancient fathers and catholic bishops of the church[c]." This was, undoubtedly, the faith of the primitive church; they admitted all into their communion that were of this faith; they condemned no man, that did not condemn these; they gave letters communicatory by no other cognizance, and all were brethren who spake this voice. "Hanc legem sequentes, Christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti; reliquos verò dementes, vesanosque judicantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere;" said the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, in their proclamation to the people of Constantinople[d]. All that believed this doctrine, were Christians and catholics, viz. all they who believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one Divinity of equal Majesty in the Holy Trinity; which, indeed, was the sum of what was decreed in explication of the apostles' creed in the four first general councils.

And what faith can be the foundation of a more solid peace, the surer ligaments of catholic communion, or the firmer basis of a holy life, and of the hopes of heaven hereafter, than the measures which the holy primitive church did hold, and we after them? That which we rely upon, is the same that the primitive church did acknowledge to be the adequate foundation of their hopes in the matters of belief: the way which they thought sufficient to go to heaven in, is the way which we walk: what they did not teach, we do not publish and impose; into this faith entirely, and into no other, as they did theirs, so we baptize our catechumens: the discriminations of heresy from catholic doctrine which they used, we use also, and we use no other: and in short, we believe all that doctrine which the church of Rome believes, except those things, which they have superinduced upon the old religion, and in which we shall prove that they have innovated. So that, by their confession, all the doctrine which we teach the people as matter of faith, must be confessed to be ancient, primitive, and apostolic, or else theirs is not so: for ours is the same, and we both have received this faith from the fountains of Scripture and universal tradition; not they from us, or we from them, but both of us from

[c] Lib. Canon. discip. Eccles. Angl. et injunct. Regin. Elis. A. D. 1571. Can. de Concionatoribus.

[d] Dat. 5. Calen. Mart. Thessalonicæ.

Christ and his apostles. And, therefore, there can be no question, whether the faith of the church of England be apostolic or primitive; it is so, confessedly: but the question is concerning many other particulars, which were unknown to the holy doctors of the first ages, which were no part of their faith, which were never put into their creeds, which were not determined in any of the four first general councils, revered in all Christendom, and entertained every where with great religion and veneration, even next to the four Gospels and the apostolical writings.

Of this sort, because the church of Rome hath introduced many, and hath adopted them into their late creed, and imposes them upon the people, not only without, but against the Scriptures and the catholic doctrine of the church of God, laying heavy burdens on men's consciences, and making the narrow way to heaven yet narrower by their own inventions; arrogating to themselves a dominion over our faith, and prescribing a method of salvation, which Christ and his apostles never taught; corrupting the faith of the church of God, and "teaching, for doctrines, the commandments of men;" and lastly, having derogated from the prerogatives of Christ, who alone is the author and finisher of our faith, and hath perfected it in the revelations consigned in the holy Scriptures; therefore it is, that we esteem ourselves obliged to warn the people of their danger, and to depart from it, and call upon them to stand upon the ways, and ask after the "old paths," and "walk in them;" lest they partake of that curse which is threatened by God to them, "who remove the ancient land-marks, which our fathers in Christ have set for us."

Now that the church of Rome cannot pretend that all which she imposes, is primitive and apostolic, appears in this; that in the church of Rome there is pretence made to a power, not only of declaring new articles of faith, but of making new symbols or creeds, and imposing them as of necessity to salvation. Which thing is evident in the bull of pope Leo X. against Martin Luther, in which, amongst other things, he is condemned for saying, "It is certain, that it is not in the power of the church or pope to constitute articles of faith." We need not add that this power

is attributed to the bishops of Rome by Turrecremata[e], Augustinus Triumphus de Ancona[f], Petrus de Ancorano[g], and the famous abbot of Panormo[h], that the pope cannot only make new creeds, but new articles of faith; that he can make that of necessity to be believed, which before never was necessary; that he is the measure and rule, and the very notice of all credibilities; that the canon law is the Divine law; and whatever law the pope promulges, God, whose vicar he is, is understood to be the promulger. That the souls of men are in the hands of the pope; and that in his arbitration religion doth consist; which are the very words of Hostiensis[i], and Ferdinandus ab Inciso[k], who were casuists and doctors of law, of great authority and renown amongst them. The thing itself is not of dubious disputation amongst them, but actually practised in the greatest instances, as is to be seen in the bull of Pius IV. at the end of the council of Trent; by which all ecclesiastics are not only bound to swear to all the articles of the council of Trent, for the present and for the future, but they are put into a new symbol or creed, and they are corroborated by the same decretory clauses that are used in the creed of Athanasius: That "this is the true catholic faith;" and that "without this no man can be saved."

Now since it cannot be imagined, that this power, to which they pretend, should never have been reduced to act; and that it is not credible they should publish so invidious and ill-sounding doctrine to no purpose, and to serve no end; it may, without further evidence, be believed by all discerning persons, that they have need of this doctrine, or it would not have been taught; and that consequently without more ado,

[e] Quod sit metrum et regula, ac scientia credendorum. Summæ de Ecclesia, lib. ii. c. 203.

[f] Novum Symbolum condere solum ad Papam spectat, quia est caput fidei Christianæ, cujus autoritate omnia, quæ ad fidem spectant, firmantur et roborantur. q. 59. a. 1. et art. 2. sicut potest novum symbolum condere, ita potest novos articulos supra alios multiplicare.

[g] Papa potest facere novos articulos fidei, id est, quod modo credi oporteat, cum sic prius non oporteret. In cap. cum Christus de hæret. n. 2.

[h] Papa potest inducere novum articulum fidei. In idem.

[i] Super 2. Decret. de jurejur. c. nimis. n. 1.

[k] Apud Petrum Ciezum, t. 2. institut. per cap. 69.

it may be concluded that some of their articles are parts of this new faith; and that they can, therefore, in no sense be apostolical, unless their being Roman makes them so.

To this may be added another consideration, not much less material, that besides what Eckius told the elector of Bavaria, that the doctrines of Luther might be overthrown by the fathers, though not by Scripture; they have also many gripes of conscience concerning the fathers themselves, that they are not right on their side; and of this, they have given but too much demonstration by their expurgatory indices. The serpent, by being so curious a defender of his head, shows where his danger is, and by what he can most readily be destroyed. But besides their innumerable corruptings of the fathers' writings; their thrusting in that which was spurious, and like Pharaoh, killing the legitimate sons of Israel [1]; though in this, they have done very much of their work, and made the testimonies of the fathers to be a record infinitely worse, than of themselves uncorrupted, they would have been (of which divers learned persons have made public complaint and demonstration); they have at last fallen to a new trade, which has caused more disreputation to them, than they have gained advantage, and they have virtually confessed, that, in many things, the fathers are against them.

For first, the king of Spain gave a commission to the inquisitors to purge all catholic authors; but with this clause, "Iique ipsi privatim, nullisque consciis, apud se indicem expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt:" "that they should keep the expurgatory index privately, neither imparting that index, nor giving a copy of it to any."—But it happened, by the Divine providence so ordering it, that about thirteen years after, a copy of it was gotten and published by Johannes Pappus, and Franciscus Junius; and since it came abroad against their wills, they find it necessary now to own it, and they have printed it themselves. Now by

[1] Johannes Clemens aliquot folia Theodoreti laceravit, et abjecit in focum, in quibus contra transubstantionem præclare disserit. Et cum non ita pridem Origenem excuderunt, totum illud caput sextum Johannis et quod commentabatur Origenes omiserunt, et mutilum ediderunt librum propter eandem causam.

these expurgatory tables, what they have done is known to learned men. In St. Chrysostom's works printed at Basil, these words, "The church is not built upon the man, but upon the faith," are commanded to be blotted out: and these, "There is no merit, but what is given us by Christ;" and yet these words are in his sermon upon Pentecost, and the former words are in his first homily upon that of St. John, "Ye are my friends," &c. The like they have done to him in many other places, and to St. Ambrose, and to St. Austin, and to them all[m]; insomuch that Ludovicus Saurius, the corrector of the press at Lyons, showed and complained of it to Junius, that he was forced to cancellate or blot out many sayings of St. Ambrose, in that edition of his works, which was printed at Lyons, 1559. So that what they say on occasion of Bertram's book, "—In the old catholic writers we suffer very many errors, and extenuate and excuse them; and finding out some commentary, we feign some convenient sense when they are opposed in disputations"—they do indeed practise, but esteem it not sufficient; for the words which make against them, they wholly leave out of their editions. Nay, they correct the very tables or indices made by the printers or correctors; insomuch, that out of one of Froben's indices they have commanded these words to be blotted, "The use of images forbidden:"—"The eucharist no sacrifice, but the memory of a sacrifice:"—"Works, although they do not justify, yet are necessary to salvation"—"Marriage is granted to all that cannot contain"—"Venial sins damn"—"The dead saints, after this life, cannot help us:" nay, out of the index of St. Austin's works by Claudius Chevallonius at Paris, 1531, there is a very strange deleatur; Dele, "Solus Deus adorandus," "that God alone is to be worshipped," is commanded to be blotted out, as being a dangerous doctrine[n]. These instances may serve instead of multitudes, which might be brought, of their corrupting the witnesses, and razing the records of antiquity, that the errors and novelties of the church of Rome might not be so easily reproved. Now if the fathers were not against them, what

[m] Sixtus Senensis epist. dedicat. ad Pium Quin. laudat Pontificem in hæc verba: expurgari et emaculari curasti omnium Catholicorum Scriptorum, ac præcipue veterum patrum, scripta.

[n] Index expurgator. Madrii. 1612, in indice libror. expurgator. p. 39.

need these arts? Why should they use them thus? Their own expurgatory indices are infinite testimony against them, both that they do so and that they need it.

But besides these things, we have thought it fit to represent, in one aspect, some of their chief doctrines of difference from the church of England, and make it evident, that they are indeed new, and brought into the church, first by way of opinion, and afterwards by power, and at last, by their own authority, decreed into laws and articles.

SECTION II.

First, we allege that this very power of making new articles is a novelty, and expressly against the doctrine of the primitive church; and we prove it, first, by the words of the apostle, saying, "If we, or an angel from heaven, shall preach unto you any other Gospel," (viz. in whole or in part, for there is the same reason of them both) "than that which we have preached, let him be anathema[a]:" and secondly, by the sentence of the fathers[b] in the third general council, that at Ephesus: "That it should not be lawful for any man to publish or compose another faith or creed than that which was defined by the Nicene council: and that whosoever shall dare to compose or offer any such to any persons willing to be converted from Paganism, Judaism, or heresy, if they were bishops or clerks, they should be deposed; if laymen, they should be accursed." And yet in the church of Rome, faith and christianity increase like the moon; Bromyard complained of it long since, and the mischief increases daily. They have now a new article of faith, ready for the stamp, which may very shortly become necessary to salvation; we mean, that of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mary. Whether the pope be above a council or no; we are not sure, whether it be an article of faith amongst them or not: it is very near one if it be not: Bellarmine would fain have us believe, that the council of Constance approving the bull of pope Martin V. declared for the pope's supremacy. But John Gerson, who was at the council[c], says,

[a] Gal. i. 8. [b] Part ii. act. 6. c. 7. [c] De Potest. Eccles. Concil. 12.

that the council did abate those heights, to which flattery had advanced the pope; and that before that council, they spoke such great things of the pope, which afterwards moderate men durst not speak; but yet some others spake them so confidently before it, that he that should then have spoken to the contrary, would hardly have escaped the note of heresy: and that these men continued the same pretensions even after the council. But the council of Basil decreed for the council against the pope; and the council of Lateran under Leo X. decreed for the pope against the council. So that it is Cross and Pile; and whether for a penny, when it can be done; it is now a known case, it shall become an article of faith. But for the present it is a probationary article, and according to Bellarmine's[d] expression is "ferè de fide," "it is almost an article of faith;" they want a little age, and then they may go alone. But the council of Trent[e] hath produced a strange new article; but it is "sine controversiâ credendum," it must be believed, and must not be controverted: that "although the ancient fathers did give the communion to infants, yet they did not believe it necessary to salvation." Now this being a matter of fact, whether they did or did not believe it, every man that reads their writings, can be able to inform himself: and besides that it is strange that this should be determined by a council, and determined against evident truth (it being notorious, that divers of the fathers did say it is necessary to salvation); the decree itself is beyond all bounds of modesty, and a strange pretension of empire over the Christian belief. But we proceed to other instances.

SECTION III.

THE Roman doctrine of indulgences was the first occasion of the great change and reformation of the western churches began by the preachings of Martin Luther, and others; and besides that it grew to that intolerable abuse, that it became a shame to itself, and a reproach to Christendom, it was also so very an innovation, that their great

[d] De Concil. Auctor. lib. ii. c. 17. Sect. 1. [e] Sess. 21. c. 4.

Antoninus[a] confesses, that "concerning them we have nothing expressly, either in the Scriptures, or in the sayings of the ancient doctors:" and the same is affirmed by Sylvester Prierias[b]. Bishop Fisher, of Rochester, says, that, in the beginning of the church, there was no use of indulgences; and that they began, after the people were awhile affrighted with the torments of purgatory; and many of the schoolmen confess, that the use of indulgences began in the time of pope Alexander III. towards the end of the twelfth century: but Agrippa imputes the beginning of them to Boniface VIII. who lived in the reign of King Edward I. of England; one thousand three hundred years after Christ. But that, in his time, the first jubilee was kept, we are assured by Crantzius. This pope[c] lived and died with great infamy, and therefore was not likely from himself to transfer much honour and reputation to the new institution. But that about this time indulgences began, is more than probable; much before, it is certain they were not. For, in the whole canon-law written by Gratian, and in the Sentences of Peter Lombard, there is nothing spoken of indulgences. Now because they lived in the time of pope Alexander III., if he had introduced them, and much rather if they had been as ancient as St. Gregory (as some vainly and weakly pretend, from no greater authority than their own legends), it is probable that these great men, writing bodies of divinity and law, would have made mention of so considerable a point, and so great a part of the Roman religion, as things are now ordered. If they had been doctrines of the church then, as they are now, it is certain they must have come under their cognizance and discourses.

Now lest the Roman emissaries should deceive any of the good sons of the church, we think fit to acquaint them, that, in the primitive church[d], when the bishops imposed severe penances, and that they were almost quite performed, and a great cause of pity intervened, or danger of death, or an

[a] Part i. Sum. tit. 10. c. 3. [b] In art. 18. Luther.

[c] 'Intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut leo, moriebatur ut canis,' de eo sæpius dictum.

[d] Tertul. i. ad Martyr. c. 1. S. Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 15. apud Pamelium 11. Concil. Nicen. 1. can. 12. Concil. Ancir. c. 5. Concil. Laod. c. 2. S. Basil. in Ep. canonicis habentur in Nomocanone Photii, can. 73.

excellent repentance, or that the martyrs interceded, the bishop did sometimes indulge the penitent, and relax some of the remaining parts of his penance; and, according to the example of St. Paul, in the case of the incestuous Corinthian, gave them ease, lest they should be swallowed up with too much sorrow. But the Roman doctrine of indulgences is wholly another thing; nothing of it but the abused name remains. For in the church of Rome they now pretend, that there is an infinite of degrees of Christ's merits and satisfaction beyond what is necessary for the salvation of his servants: and (for fear Christ should not have enough) the saints have a surplusage of merits[e], or at least of satisfactions,—more than they can spend, or themselves do need; and out of these the church hath made her a treasure, a kind of poor man's box; and out of this, a power to take as much as they list, to apply to the poor souls in purgatory; who,—because they did not satisfy for their venial sins, or perform all their penances which were imposed, or which might have been imposed, and which were due to be paid to God, for the temporal pains reserved upon them, after he had forgiven them the guilt of their deadly sins,—are forced sadly to roar in pains not inferior to the pains of hell, excepting only that they are not eternal. That this is the true state of their article of indulgences, we appeal to Bellarmine[f].

Now, concerning their new foundation of indulgences, the first stone of it was laid by Pope Clement VI. in his extravagant 'Unigenitus, de pœnitentiis et remissionibus,' A. D. 1350. This constitution was published fifty years after the first jubilee, and was a new device to bring in customers to Rome at the second jubilee, which was kept in Rome in this pope's time. What ends of profit and interest it served, we are not much concerned to inquire: but this we know, that it had not yet passed into a catholic doctrine, for it was disputed against by Franciscus de Mayronis[g], and Durandus[h], not long before this extravagant; and that it was not rightly given to the church, besides that which the apostles received

[e] Communis opinio doctorum, tam Theologorum, quam Canonicorum, quod sunt ex abundantia meritorum, quæ ultra mensuram demeritorum suorum sancti sustinuerunt, et Christi, Sum. Angel. v. Indulg. 9.

[f] Lib. i. de Indulgent. c. 2. et 3. [g] In 4. lib. sen. dist. 19. q. 2.

[h] Ibid. dist. 20. q. 3.

formed to their purposes till the stirs in Germany, raised upon the occasion of indulgences, made Leo X. set his clerks on work to study the point, and make something of it.

But as to the thing itself: it is so wholly new, so merely devised and forged by themselves, so newly created out of nothing, from great mistakes of Scripture, and dreams of shadows from antiquity; that we are to admonish our charges, that they cannot reasonably expect many sayings of the primitive doctors against them, any more than against the new fancies of the Quakers, which were born but yesterday. That which is not, cannot be numbered; and that which was not, could not be confuted. But the perfect silence of antiquity in this whole matter, is an abundant demonstration that this new nothing was[1] made in the later laboratories of Rome. For as Durandus said, the holy fathers, Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Austin, speak nothing of indulgences. And whereas it is said, that St. Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, gave indulgences at Rome in the stations; Magister Angularis, who lived about two hundred since, says, "he never read of any such any where;" and it is certain there is no such thing in the writings of St. Gregory, nor in any history of that age nor any other that is authentic: and we could never see any history pretended for it by the Roman writers, but a legend of Ledgerus brought to us the other day by Surius: which is so ridiculous and weak, that even their own parties dare not avow it as a true story; and therefore they are fain to make use of Thomas Aquinas upon the Sentences, and Altisiodorensis, for story and record. And it were strange that if the power of giving indulgences to take off the punishment, reserved by God after the sin is pardoned, were given by Christ to his church, that no one of the ancient doctors should tell any thing of it: insomuch that there is no one writer of authority and credit, not the more ancient doctors we have named, nor those who were much later, Rupertus Tuitiensis, Anselm, or St. Bernard, ever took notice of it; but it was a doctrine wholly unknown to the church for about one thousand two hundred years after Christ; and Cardinal Cajetan told Pope Adrian VI.,

[1] Ubi supra.

that 'an indulgence is nothing else but an absolution from that penance, which the confessor hath imposed;' and therefore can be nothing of that which is now-a-days pretended.

True it is, that the canonical penances were, about the time of Burchard, lessened and altered by commutations; and the ancient discipline of the church, in imposing penances, was made so loose, that the indulgence was more than the imposition, and began not to be an act of mercy but remissness, and absolution without amends: it became a trumpet, and a levy for the holy war, in Pope Urban II.'s time, for he gave a plenary indulgence and remission of all sins to them, that should go and fight against the Saracens: and yet no man could tell how much they were the better for these indulgences: for concerning the value of indulgences, the complaint is both old and doubtful, said Pope Adrian[k]; and he cites a famous gloss, which tells of four opinions all catholic, and yet vastly differing in this particular: but the 'Summa Angelica[l]' reckons seven opinions concerning what that penalty is which is taken off by indulgences: no man could then tell; and the point was but in the infancy; and since that, they have made it what they please: but it is at last turned into a doctrine, and they have devised new propositions, as well as they can, to make sense of it; and yet it is a very strange thing; a solution, not an absolution (it is the distinction of Bellarmine); that is, the sinner is let to go free without punishment in this world or in the world to come; and in the end, it grew to be that which Christendom could not suffer: a heap of doctrines without grounds of Scripture, or catholic tradition; and not only so, but they have introduced a way of remitting sins, that Christ and his apostles taught not; a way destructive to the repentance and remission of sins, which was preached in the name of Jesus: it brought into the church false and fantastic hopes, 'a hope that will make men ashamed;' a hope that does not glorify the merits and perfect satisfaction of Christ; a doctrine expressly dishonourable to the full and free pardon given us by God through Jesus Christ; a practice that supposes a new bunch of keys

[k] In lib. iv. sent. [l] Verb. Indulgentiæ.

to open and shut the kingdom of heaven; a doctrine that introduces pride among the saints, and advances the opinion of their works beyond the measures of Christ[m], who taught us, "That when we have done all that is commanded, we are unprofitable servants;" and, therefore, certainly cannot supererogate, or do more than what is infinitely recompensed by the kingdom of glory, to which all our doings and all our sufferings are not worthy to be compared, especially since the greatest saint cannot but say with David, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant; for in thy sight no flesh living can be justified:" it is a practice that hath turned penances into a fair, and the court of conscience into a lombard, and the labours of love into the labours of pilgrimages, superstitious and useless wanderings from place to place; and religion into vanity, and our hope in God to a confidence in man, and our fears of hell to be a mere scarecrow to rich and confident sinners: and at last, it was frugally employed, by a great pope, to raise a portion for a lady, the wife of Franceschet to Cibo, bastard son of pope Innocent VIII.; and the merchandise itself became the stakes of gamesters at dice and cards, and men did vile actions that they might win indulgences; by gaming, making their way to heaven easier.

Now although the holy fathers of the church could not be supposed, in direct terms, to speak against this new doctrine of indulgences, because, in their days, it was not: yet they have said many things, which do perfectly destroy this new doctrine and these unchristian practices. For besides that they teach repentance wholly reducing us to a good life; a faith that entirely relies upon Christ's merits and satisfactions; a hope wholly depending upon the plain promises of the Gospel, a service perfectly consisting in the works of a good conscience, a labour of love, a religion of justice, and piety, and moral virtues: they do also expressly teach, that pilgrimages to holy places, and such like inventions, which are now the earnings and price of indulgences, and not required of us, and are not the way of salvation, as is to be 'that to him that readeth the decretals, it plainly appears,

[m] Ut quid non prævides tibi in die judicii, quando nemo poterit per alium excusari, vel defendi; sed unusquisque sufficiens onus erit sibi ipsi: Th. a Kempis, lib. i. De Imit. c. 24.

seen in an oration made by St. Gregory Nyssen, wholly against pilgrimages to Jerusalem; in St. Chrysostom[n], St. Austin[o], and St. Bernard[p]. The sense of these fathers is this, in the words of St. Austin: "God said not, Go to the east, and seek righteousness; sail to the west, that you may receive indulgence. But indulge thy brother, and it shall be indulged to thee: you have need to inquire for no other indulgence to thy sins; if thou wilt retire into the closet of thy heart, there thou shalt find it." That is, all our hope of indulgence is from God through Jesus Christ, and is wholly to be obtained by faith in Christ, and perseverance in good works, and entire mortification of all our sins.

To conclude this particular: Though the gains, which the church of Rome makes of indulgences, be a heap almost as great as the abuses themselves, yet the greatest patrons of this new doctrine could never give any certainty, or reasonable comfort, to the conscience of any person, that could inquire into it. They never durst determine, whether they were absolutions or compensations; whether they only take off the penances actually imposed by the confessor; or potentially, and all that which might have been imposed; whether all that may be paid in the court of men; or all that can or will be required by the laws and severity of God. Neither can they speak rationally to the great question,—Whether the treasure of the church consists of the satisfactions of Christ only, or of the saints?—For if of saints, it will, by all men, be acknowledged to be a defeasible estate, and being finite and limited, will be spent sooner than the needs of the church can be served; and if, therefore, it be necessary to add the merits and satisfaction of Christ, since they are an ocean of infinity, and can supply more than all our needs, to what purpose is it to add the little minutes and droppings of the saints? They cannot tell, whether they may be given, if the receiver do nothing or give nothing for them: and although this last particular could better be resolved by the court of Rome than by the church of Rome, yet all the doctrines, which built up the new fabric of indulgences, were so dangerous to determine, so improbable,

[n] Homil. 1. in Ep. ad Philem.
[o] Serm. de Marty. ib.
[p] Serm. 1. de Advent.

so unreasonable, or, at best, so uncertain and invidious, that, according to the advice of the bishop of Modena, the council of Trent left all the doctrines and all the cases of conscience quite alone, and slubbered the whole matter both in the question of indulgences and purgatory, in general and recommendatory terms; affirming, that the power of giving indulgence is in the church, and that the use is wholesome: and that all hard and subtile questions, viz. concerning purgatory, which although (if it be at all) it is a fire, yet it is the fuel of indulgences, and maintains them wholly; all that is suspected to be false, and all that is uncertain; and whatsoever is curious and superstitious, scandalous, or for filthy lucre, be laid aside. And in the mean time, they tell us not what is, and what is not, superstitious, nor what is scandalous, nor what they mean by the general term of 'indulgence;' and they establish no doctrine, neither curious nor incurious, nor durst they decree the very foundation of this whole matter, the church's treasure; neither durst they meddle with it, but left it as they found it, and continued in the abuses, and proceeded in the practice, and set their doctors, as well as they can, to defend all the new, and curious, and scandalous questions, and to uphold the gainful trade. But however it be with them, the doctrine itself is proved to be a direct innovation in the matter of Christian religion; and that was it, which we have undertaken to demonstrate.

SECTION IV.

THE doctrine of purgatory is the mother of indulgences, and the fear of that hath introduced these: for the world happened to be abused like the countryman in the fable, who, being told he was likely to fall into a delirium in his feet, was advised, for remedy, to take the juice of cotton: he feared a disease that was not, and looked for a cure as ridiculous. But if the patent of indulgences be not from Christ and his apostles; if, upon this ground, the primitive church never built, the superstructures of Rome must fall; they can be no stronger than their supporter. Now, then, in order to the proving the doctrine of purgatory to be an innovation;—

1. We consider, that the doctrines, upon which it is

pretended reasonable, are all dubious, and disputable at the very best. Such are,

1. Their distinction of sins mortal and venial in their own nature.

2. That the taking away the guilt of sins, does not suppose the taking away the obligation to punishment; that is, that when a man's sin is pardoned, he may be punished without the guilt of that sin as justly as with it; as if the guilt could be any thing else but an obligation to punishment for having sinned; which is a proposition, of which no wise man can make sense; but it is certain that it is expressly against the word of God, who promises, upon our repentance, so to take away our sins that "he will remember them no more[a]:" and so did Christ to all those to whom he gave pardon; for he did not take our faults and guilt on him any other way, but by curing our evil hearts, and taking away the punishment[b]. And this was so perfectly believed by the primitive church, that they always made the penances and satisfaction to be undergone, before they gave absolution; and, after absolution, they never imposed or obliged to punishment, unless it were to sick persons, of whose recovery they despaired not: of them, indeed, in case they had not finished their canonical punishments, they expected they should perform what was enjoined them formerly. But because all sin is a blot to a man's soul, and a foul stain to his reputation, we demand, in what does this stain consist? In the guilt, or in the punishment? If it be said that it consists in the punishment, then what does the guilt signify, when the removing of it does neither remove the stain nor the punishment, which both remain and abide together? But if the stain and the guilt be all one, or always together, then when the guilt is taken away, there can no stain remain; and if so, what need is there any more of purgatory[c]? For since this is pretended to be necessary, only lest any stained

[a] Ezek. xviii. 22.

[b] Neque ab iis quos sanas, lente languor abscedit; sed illico, quem restituis, ex integro convalescit; quia consummatum est quod facis, et perfectum quod largiris. S. Cyprian. de Cœna Domini: vel potius Arnoldus.—P. Gelasius d. vincul. anathem. negat pœnam deberi culpæ, si culpa corrigatur.

[c] Delet gratia finalis peccatum veniale in ipsa dissolutione corporis et animæ. Hoc ab antiquis dictum est. Albert. Mag. in Compend. Theolog. Verit. lib. iii. c. 13.

or unclean thing should enter into heaven, if the guilt and the pain be removed, what uncleanness can there be left behind? Indeed Simon Magus (as Epiphanius reports, Hæres 20,) did teach, that, after the death of the body, there remained ψυχῶν κάθαρσις, 'a purgation of souls:' but whether the church of Rome will own him for an authentic doctor, themselves can best tell.

3. It relies upon this also, that God requires of us a full exchange of penances and satisfactions, which must regularly be paid here or hereafter, even by them who are pardoned here; which if it were true, we are all undone.

4. That the death of Christ, his merits and satisfaction, do not procure for us a full remission before we die, nor, as it may happen, of a long time after. All which being propositions new and uncertain, invented by the school-divines, and brought, 'ex post facto,' to dress this opinion, and make it to seem reasonable; and being the products of ignorance concerning remission of sins by grace, of the righteousness of faith, and the infinite value of Christ's death, must needs lay a great prejudice of novelty upon the doctrine itself, which, but by these, cannot be supported. But to put it past suspicion and conjectures: Roffensis[d] and Polydore Virgil[e] affirm, that whoso searcheth the writings of the Greek fathers, shall find that none, or very rarely any one of them, ever makes mention of purgatory; and that the Latin fathers did not all believe it, but by degrees came to entertain opinions of it: but for the catholic church, it was but lately known to her.

But before we say any more in this question, we are to premonish, that there are two great causes of their mistaken pretensions in this article from antiquity.

The first is, that the ancient churches, in their offices, and the fathers, in their writings, did teach, and practise respectively, prayer for the dead. Now because the church of Rome does so too, and, more than so, relates her prayers to the doctrine of purgatory, and for the souls there detained; her doctors vainly suppose, that whenever the holy fathers speak of prayer for the dead, that they conclude for purgatory; which vain conjecture is as false as it is unreasonable:

[d] Art. 18. cont. Luther. [e] Invent. Rerum, lib. viii. c. 1.

for it is true, the fathers did pray for the dead; but how? "That God should show them mercy, and hasten the resurrection, and give a blessed sentence in the great day." But then it is also to be remembered, that they made prayers, and offered for those, who, by the confession of all sides, never were in purgatory, even for the patriarchs and prophets, for the apostles and evangelists, for martyrs and confessors, and especially for the blessed Virgin Mary: so we find it in Epiphanius [f], St. Cyril [g], and in the canon of the Greeks, and so it is acknowledged by their own Durandus [h]; and in their mass-book anciently they prayed for the soul of St. Leo: of which because by their latter doctrines they grew ashamed, they have changed the prayer for him into a prayer to God, by the intercession of St. Leo, in behalf of themselves; so by their new doctrine, making him an intercessor for us, who, by their old doctrine, was supposed to need our prayers to intercede for him; of which pope Innocent, being asked a reason, makes a most pitiful excuse [i].

Upon what accounts the fathers did pray for the saints departed, and indeed generally for all, it is not now seasonable to discourse; but to say this only, that such general prayers for the dead as those above reckoned, the church of England never did condemn by any express article, but left it in the middle [k]; and by her practice declares her faith of the resurrection of the dead, and her interest in the communion of saints, and that the saints departed are a portion of the catholic church, parts and members of the body of Christ; but expressly condemns the doctrine of purgatory, and, consequently, all prayers for the dead relating to it: and how vainly the church of Rome, from prayer for the dead, infers the belief of purgatory, every man may satisfy himself, by seeing the writings of the fathers, where they cannot meet with one collect or clause for praying for the delivery of souls out of that imaginary place. Which thing is so certain, that in the very Roman offices, we mean the vigils said for the dead, which are psalms and lessons taken from the Scripture, speaking of the miseries of this world,

[f] Hæres. 75. [g] Cateches. Mystag. 5. [h] De Ritibus, lib. ii. c. 35.

[i] Innocent. P. de Cœleb. Missar. cap. Cum Martha.

[k] Apologia confessionis Augustanæ expresse approbat clausulam illam ὑπάτικὴν, 'Deus det ei pacatam quietem, ad vitæ resurrectionem.'

repentance and reconciliation with God, the bliss after this life of them that die in Christ, and the resurrection of the dead; and in the anthems, versicles, and responses, there are prayers made recommending to God the soul of the newly defunct, praying, 'he may be freed from hell and eternal death,' that 'in the day of judgment he be not judged and condemned according to his sins, but that he may appear among the elect in the glory of the resurrection;' but not one word of purgatory, or its pains.

The other cause of their mistake is, that the fathers often speak of a fire of purgation after this life; but such a one that is not to be kindled until the day of judgment, and it is such a fire that destroys the doctrine of the intermedial purgatory. We suppose that Origen was the first that spoke plainly of it; and so St. Ambrose follows him in the opinion (for it was no more); so does St. Basil, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and Lactantius, as their words plainly prove, as they are cited by Sixtus Senensis, affirming, that 'all men, Christ only excepted, shall be burned with the fire of the world's conflagration at the day of judgment;' even the blessed Virgin herself is to pass through this fire. There was also another doctrine very generally received by the fathers, which greatly destroys the Roman purgatory. Sixtus Senensis says, and he says very true, that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Victorinus Martyr, Prudentius, St. Chrysostom, Arethas, Euthimius, and St. Bernard[1], did all affirm, that before the day of judgment, the souls of men are kept in secret receptacles, reserved unto the sentence of the great day; and that before then, no man receives according to his works done in this life. We do not interpose in this opinion to say that it is true or false, probable or improbable; for these fathers intended it not as a matter of faith, or necessary belief, so far as we find. But we observe from hence, that if their opinion be true, then the doctrine of purgatory is false: if it be not

[1] Liv. vi. Bibl. Sanct. Annot. 345. Bernardum excusandum arbitror ob ingentem numerum illustrium ecclesiæ patrum, qui ante ipsum huic dogmati auctoritatem suo testimonio visi sunt præbuisse; præter citatos, enumerat, S. Jacobum Apostolum, Irenæum, Clementem Romanum, Augustinum, Theodoretum, Œcumenium, Theophylactum, et Johannem, 22. pontif. Rom.: quam sententiam non modo docuit, et declaravit, sed ab omnibus teneri mandavit, ut ait Adrianus P. in lib. iv. sent. in fine Quæst. de Sacram. Confirmationis.

true, yet the Roman doctrine of purgatory, which is inconsistent with this so generally received opinion of the fathers, is, at least, new, no catholic doctrine, not believed in the primitive church; and, therefore, the Roman writers are much troubled to excuse the fathers in this article, and to reconcile them to some seeming concord with their new doctrine.

But, besides these things, it is certain, that the doctrine of purgatory, before the day of judgment, in St. Austin's time[m], was not the doctrine of the church; it was not the catholic doctrine; for himself did doubt of it: "whether it be so or not, it may be inquired; and, possibly, it may be found so, and possibly it may never:" so St. Austin. In his time, therefore, it was no doctrine of the church, and it continued much longer in uncertainty; for, in the time of Otho Frisingensis[n], who lived in the year 1146, it was gotten no further than to a 'Quidam asserunt:' 'some do affirm,' that there is a place of purgatory after death. And, although it is not to be denied, but that many of the ancient doctors had strange opinions concerning purgations, and fires, and intermedial states, and common receptacles, and liberations of souls and spirits after this life; yet we can truly affirm it, and can never be convinced to err in this affirmation, that there is not any one of the ancients within five hundred years, whose opinion in this article throughout, the church of Rome at this day follows.

But the people of the Roman communion have been principally led into a belief of purgatory by their fear, and by their credulity; they have been softened and enticed into this belief, by perpetual tales and legends, by which they loved to be abused. To this purpose, their priests and friars have made great use of the apparition of St. Jerome, after death, to Eusebius, commanding him to lay his sack upon the corpse of three dead men, that, they arising from death, might confess purgatory, which formerly they had denied. The story is written in an epistle imputed to St. Cyril; but the ill luck of it was, that St. Jerome out-lived St. Cyril, and wrote his life, and so confuted that story;

[m] Enchirid. c. 69. lib. xxi. de Civit. Dei, cap. 26.
[n] Lib. 8. Chron. cap. 26.

but all is one for that, they believe it nevertheless: but there are enough to help it out; and if they be not firmly true[o], yet, if they be firmly believed, all is well enough. In the 'speculum exemplorum' it is said, that a certain priest, in an ecstacy, saw the soul of Constantinus Turritanus in the eaves of his house, tormented with frosts and cold rains, and afterwards climbing up to heaven upon a shining pillar. And a certain monk saw some souls roasted upon spits like pigs, and some devils basting them with scalding lard; but a while after, they were carried to a cool place, and so proved purgatory. But bishop Theobald, standing upon a piece of ice to cool his feet, was nearer purgatory than he was aware, and was convinced of it, when he heard a poor soul telling him, that under that ice he was tormented: and that he should be delivered, if for thirty days continual, he would say for him thirty masses: and some such thing was seen by Conrade and Udalric in a pool of water[p]: for the place of purgatory was not yet resolved on, till St. Patrick had the key of it delivered to him; which when one Nicholas borrowed of him, he saw as strange and true things there, as ever Virgil dreamed of in his purgatory, or Cicero, in his dream of Scipio; or Plato, in his Gorgias, or Phædo, who indeed are the surest authors to prove purgatory. But because to preach false stories was forbidden by the council of Trent, there are yet remaining more certain arguments, even revelations made by angels, and the testimony of St. Odilio himself, who heard the devil complain (and he had great reason surely) that the souls of dead men were daily snatched out of his hands, by the alms and prayers of the living; and the sister of St. Damianus being too much pleased with hearing of a piper, told her brother, that she was to be tormented for fifteen days in purgatory.

We do not think, that the wise men in the church of Rome believe these narratives; for if they did, they were not wise: but this we know, that by such stories the people were brought into a belief of it; and having served their

[o] Hæc descripsimus, ut tamen in iis nulla velut canonica constituatur autoritas. lib. de 8. quæst. Dulcitii. c. 1. Dist. 3. exem. 4. Exempl. 60. Histor. Lomb.

[p] Legend. 185.

turn of them, the master-builders used them as false arches and centries, taking them away when the parts of the building were made firm and stable by authority. But even the better sort of them do believe them; or else they do worse, for they urge and cite the dialogues of St. Gregory, the oration of St. John Damascen 'de Defunctis,' the sermons of St. Austin upon the feast of the commemoration of All-souls (which nevertheless was instituted after St. Austin's death); and divers other citations, which the Greeks in their apology call Διαφθορὰς καὶ παρεμβολὰς αἱρετιζόντων, 'the holds and the castles, the corruptions and insinuations of heretical persons.' But in this they are the less to be blamed, because better arguments than they have, no men are tied to make use of.

But, against this way of proceeding, we think fit to admonish the people of our charges, that, besides that the Scriptures expressly forbid us to inquire of the dead for truth[q]; the holy doctors of the church, particularly, Tertullian, St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, Isidor, and Theophylact, deny that the souls of the dead ever do appear; and bring many reasons to prove, that it is unfitting they should; saying, if they did, it would be the cause of many errors; and the devils under that pretence, might easily abuse the world with notices and revelations of their own: and because Christ would have us content with Moses and the prophets, and especially, to 'hear that prophet, whom the Lord our God hath raised up' amongst us, our blessed Jesus, who never taught any such doctrine to his church.

But, because we are now representing the novelty of this doctrine, and proving, that anciently it was not the doctrine of the church, nor at all esteemed a matter of faith, whether there was or was not any such place or state, we add this, that the Greek church did always dissent from the Latins in this particular, since they had forged this new doctrine in the laboratories of Rome; and, in the council of Basil, published an apology, directly disapproving the Roman doctrine of purgatory. How, afterwards, they were pressed in the council of Florence, by Pope Eugenius, and by their necessity, how unwillingly they consented; how ambiguously they answered; how they protested against having that half-

[q] Deut. xviii. 11, &c. Isai. viii. 19. Vide Maldonat. in xvi. cap. S. Lucæ.

consent put into the instrument of union; how they were yet constrained to it by their chiefs, being obnoxious to the pope; how a while after, they dissolved that union, and to this day refuse to own this doctrine;—are things so notoriously known, that they need no further declaration.

We add this only, to make the conviction more manifest: we have thought fit to annex some few, but very clear testimonies of antiquity, expressly destroying the new doctrine of purgatory. St. Cyprian saith [r], "Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam locus pœnitentiæ est, nullus satisfactionis effectus:" "When we are gone from hence, there is no place left for repentance, and no effect of satisfaction." St. Dionysius [s] calls the extremity of death, τέλος ἱερῶν ἀγώνων, "The end of all our agonies;" and affirms, "That the holy men of God rest in joy, and in never-failing hopes, and are come to the end of their holy combats."—St. Justin Martyr affirms [t], "That when the soul is departed from the body, εὐθὺς γίνεται, 'presently there is' a separation made of the just and unjust: the unjust are, by angels, borne into places which they have deserved; but the souls of the just into Paradise, where they have the conversation of angels and archangels."—St. Ambrose saith [u], "That death is a haven of rest, and makes not our condition worse; but, according as it finds every man, so it reserves him to the judgment that is to come." The same is affirmed by St. Hilary [x], St. Macarius [y], and divers others; they speak but of two states after death, of the just and the unjust: these are placed in horrible regions, reserved to the judgment of the great day; the other have their souls carried by choirs of angels into places of rest. St. Gregory Nazianzen expressly affirms [z], "That after this life there is no purgation."—"For after Christ's ascension into Heaven, the souls of all saints are with Christ," saith Gennadius [a]; and going from the body, they go to Christ, expecting the resurrection of their body, with it to pass into the perfection of perpetual bliss; and this he delivers

[r] Ad Demetrian. sect. 16. [s] Eccles. Hier. c. 7.
[t] Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthod. qu. 5. Justino imputat.
[u] De bono mortis, c. 4. [x] In Psal. 2. [y] Homil. 22.
[z] Orat. 5. in Plagam grandinis et orat. 42. in Pascha. de Eccles. dogmat. c. 79.
[a] In Eccles. c. 11.

as the doctrine of the catholic church:—"In what place soever a man is taken at his death, of light or darkness, of wickedness or virtue, *ἐν ἐκείνῳ μένει τῷ βαθμῷ καὶ τάξει*, 'in the same order, and in the same degree;' either in light with the just, and with Christ, the great king; or in darkness with the unjust, and with the prince of darkness," said Olympiodorus. And, lastly, we recite the words of St. Leo[b], one of the popes of Rome, speaking of the penitents who had not performed all their penances; "but if any one of them, for whom we pray unto the Lord, being interrupted by any obstacles, falls from the gift of the present indulgence (viz. *ecclesiastical absolution*), and, before he arrive at the appointed remedies (that is, *before he hath performed his penances or satisfactions*), ends his temporal life, that which remaining in the body he hath not received, when he is divested of his body, he cannot obtain." He knew not of the new devices of paying in purgatory, what they paid not here; and of being cleansed there, who were not clean here: and how these words, or any of the precedent, are reconcilable with the doctrines of purgatory, hath not yet entered into our imagination.

To conclude this particular, we complain greatly, that this doctrine, which, in all the parts of it, is uncertain, and in the late additions to it in Rome is certainly false, is yet, with all the faults of it, passed into an article of faith by the council of Trent. But, besides what hath been said, it will be more than sufficient to oppose against it these clearest words of Scripture, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth; even so saith the Spirit; that they may rest from their labours[c]." If all the dead that die in Christ, be at rest, and are in no more affliction or labours; then the doctrine of the horrible pains of purgatory is as false as it is uncomfortable. To these words we add the saying of Christ, and we rely upon it; "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but passeth from death unto life[d]." If so, then not into the judgment of purgatory: if the servant of Christ passeth from death to life, then not from death to the terminable pains of a part of hell.

[b] Epist. 59. [c] Rev. xiv. 13. [d] John, v. 24.

They that have eternal life, suffer no intermedial punishment, judgment, or condemnation after death; for death and life are the whole progression, according to the doctrine of Christ: and Him we choose to follow.

SECTION V.

THE doctrine of transubstantiation is so far from being primitive and apostolic, that we know the very time it began to be owned publicly for an opinion, and the very council in which it was said to be passed into a public doctrine, and by what arts it was promoted, and by what persons it was introduced.

For all the world knows, that by their own parties, by Scotus[a], Ocham[b], Briel[c], Fisher, bishop of Rochester[d], and divers others, whom Bellarmine calls 'most learned and most acute men[e],' it was declared, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not expressed in the canon of the Bible; that in the Scriptures there is no place so express, as (without the church's declaration) to compel us to admit of transubstantiation, and, therefore, at least, it is to be suspected of novelty. But further, we know it was but a disputable question in the ninth and tenth ages after Christ; that it was not pretended to be an article of faith, till the Lateran council in the time of pope Innocent III., one thousand two hundred years, and more, after Christ; that since that pretended determination[f], divers of the chiefest teachers of their own side have been no more satisfied of the ground of it, than they were before; but still have publicly affirmed, that the article is not expressed in Scripture; particularly, Johannes de Bassolis, cardinal Cajetan[g], and Melchior Camus[h], besides those above reckoned: and, therefore, if it was not

[a] In 4. lib. sent. d. 11. q. 3.
[b] Ibid. q. 6.
[c] Lect. 40. in can. missæ.
[d] Cap. 1. contr. Captiv. Babyl.
[e] De Euchar. lib. iii. cap. 23. sect. Secundo dicit.
[f] Venêre tum quidem multi in consultationem, nec decerni tamen quicquam apertè potuit. Platina in vita Innocen. III.
[g] Apud Suar. Tom. 3. disp. 46. sect. 3.
[h] Loc. com. lib. ii. c. com. fund. 2.

expressed in Scripture, it will be too clear, that they made their articles of their own heads: for they could not declare it to be there, if it was not; and if it was there but obscurely, then it ought to be taught accordingly; and, at most, it could be but a probable doctrine, and not certain as an article of faith. But that we may put it past argument and probability, it is certain, that as the doctrine was not taught in Scripture expressly: so it was not at all taught as a catholic doctrine, or an article of the faith by the primitive ages of the church.

Now for this, we need no proof but the confession and acknowledgment of the greatest doctors of the church of Rome. Scotus says, that before the Lateran council, transubstantiation was not an article of faith, as Bellarmine[i] confesses; and Henriquez affirms, that Scotus says, it was not ancient; insomuch that Bellarmine accuses him of ignorance, saying, he talked at that rate, because he had not read the Roman council, under pope Gregory the seventh, nor that consent of fathers which (to so little purpose) he had heaped together. "Rem transubstantiationis patres ne attigisse quidem," said some of the English Jesuits in prison[k]: "The fathers have not so much as touched or meddled with the matter of transubstantiation;" and in Peter Lombard's time, it was so far from being an article of faith, or a catholic doctrine, that they did not know whether it were true or no: and after he had collected the sentences of the fathers in that article, he confessed, he could not tell whether there was any substantial change or no. His words[l] are these: "If it be inquired what kind of conversion it is, whether it be formal or substantial, or of another kind? I am not able to define it: only I know that it is not formal, because the same accidents remain, the same colour and taste. To some it seems to be substantial, saying, that so the substance is changed into the substance, that it is done essentially. To which the former authorities seem to consent. But to this sentence others oppose these things: if the substance of bread and wine be substantially converted into the body and blood of Christ, then every day some

[i] Lib. iii. de Euch. c. 23. sect. Unum tamen. Sum. lib. viii. c. 20.
[k] Discurs. modest. p. 13. [l] Lib. iv. sent. dist. 11. lit. a.

substance is made the body or blood of Christ, which before was not the body; and to-day something is Christ's body, which yesterday was not; and every day Christ's body is increased, and is made of such matter of which it was not made in the conception:" these are his words, which we have remarked, not only for the argument's sake (though it be unanswerable), but to give a plain demonstration that in his time this doctrine was new, not the doctrine of the church: and this was written but about fifty[m] years before it was said to be decreed in the Lateran[n] council, and therefore it made haste, in so short time, to pass from a disputable opinion, to an article of faith. But even after the council, Durandus[o], as good a catholic, and as famous a doctor as any was in the church of Rome, publicly maintained, that even after consecration, the very matter of bread remained[p]: and although he says, that by reason of the authority of the church, it is not to be held; yet it is not only possible it should be so, but it implies no contradiction that it should be Christ's body, and yet the matter of bread remain: and if this might be admitted, it would salve many difficulties, which arise from saying that the substance of bread does not remain. But here, his reason was overcome by authority, and he durst not affirm that of which alone he was able to give (as he thought) a reasonable account. But by this it appears, that the opinion was but then in the forge, and by all their understanding they could never accord it; but still the questions were uncertain, according to that old distich;

Corpore de Christi lis est, de sanguine lis est,
Deque modo lis est, non habitura modum.

And the opinion was not determined in the Lateran, as it is now held at Rome; but it is also plain, that it is a stranger to antiquity. "De transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi rara est in antiquis scriptoribus mentio," said Alphonsus à Castro[q]: "There is seldom mention made in the ancient writers, of transubstantiating the bread into

[m] A. D. 1160. [n] A. D. 1215.
[o] A. D. 1270, secund. Buchol. sed secundum Volaterranum 1335.
[p] In lib. iv. sent. dist. 11. qu. 1. sect. Propter tertium.
[q] De Hæres. lib. viii. Verbo Indulgentia.

Christ's body."—We know the modesty and interest of the man; he would not have said it had been 'seldom,' if he could have found it in any reasonable degree warranted; he might have said and justified it, 'There was no mention at all' of this article in the primitive church: and, that it was a mere stranger to antiquity, will not be denied by any sober person, who considers, That it was with so much uneasiness entertained, even in the corruptest and most degenerous times, and argued and unsettled almost 1300 years after Christ.

And that it was so, will but too evidently appear by that stating and resolution of this question, which we find in the canon law. For Berengarius[r] was, by pope Nicolas, commanded to recant his error in these words, and to affirm, "Verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi sensualiter, non solùm in sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri:" "That the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ sensually, not only in sacrament, but in truth, is handled by the priest's hands, and broken and grinded by the teeth of the faithful."—Now although this was publicly read at Rome, before an hundred and fourteen bishops, and by the pope sent up and down the churches of Italy, France, and Germany, yet at this day it is renounced by the church of Rome, and 'unless it be well expounded,' says the Gloss, 'will lead into a heresy, greater than what Berengarius was commanded to renounce;' and no interpretation can make it tolerable, but such an one, as is in another place of the canon law, "Statuimus," *i. e.* "Abrogamus;" nothing but a plain denying it in the sense of pope Nicolas. But however this may be, it is plain they understood it not, as it is now decreed. But as it happened to the Pelagians in the beginning of their heresy, they spake rudely, ignorantly, and easily to be reproved; but being ashamed and disputed into a more sober understanding of their hypothesis, spake more warily, but yet differently from what they said at first: so it was and is in this question; at first they understood it not; it was too unreasonable in any tolerable sense, to make any thing of it; but experience and necessity hath brought it to what it is.

[r] Cap. Ego Berengarius de Consecrat. dist. 2.

But that this doctrine was not the doctrine of the first and best ages of the church, these following testimonies do make evident. The words of Tertullian[s] are these; "The bread being taken and distributed to his disciples, Christ made it his body, saying, this is my body, that is, the figure of my body."

The same is affirmed by Justin Martyr[t]: the bread of the eucharist was "a figure, which Christ the Lord commanded to do in remembrance of his passion."—Origen[u] calls the bread and the chalice, "The images of the body and blood of Christ:" and again, "That bread which is sanctified by the word of God, so far as belongs to the matter or substance of it, goes into the belly, and is cast away in the secession" or separation; which to affirm of the natural or glorified body of Christ, were greatly blasphemous: and, therefore, the body of Christ which the communicants receive, is not the body in a natural sense, but in a spiritual, which is not capable of any such accident, as the elements are.

Eusebius[x] says, That "Christ gave to his disciples the symbols of Divine economy, commanding the image and type of his own body to be made:"—And[y] that "the apostle received a command according to the constitution of the New Testament, to make a memory of this sacrifice upon the table by the symbols of his body and healthful blood."

St. Macarius[z] says, That "in the church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of his flesh and of his blood, and they that partake of the bread that appears, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ." By which words the sense of the above cited fathers is explicated. For when they affirm, that in this sacrament is offered the figure, the image, the antitype of Christ's body and blood, although they speak perfectly against transubstantiation, yet they do not deny the real and spiritual presence of Christ's body and blood; which we all believe as certainly, as that it is not transubstantiated or present in a natural and carnal manner.

The same thing is also fully explicated by the good

[s] Adver. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 40. [t] Contr. Tryph. Jud.

[u] In dialog. cont. Marcion. collectis ex Maximo, tempore Commodi et Severi Imp. in Ma. 1.

[x] Demonst. Evang. lib. i. c. 1. [y] Et cap. ult. [z] Homil. 27.

St. Ephrem[a]; "The body of Christ, received by the faithful, departs not from his sensible substance, and is undivided from a spiritual grace. For even baptism being wholly made spiritual, and being that which is the same, and proper, of the sensible substance, I mean, of water, saves, and that which is born, doth not perish."

St. Gregory Nazianzen[b] spake so expressly in this question, as if he had undertaken on purpose to confute the article of Trent. "Now we shall be partakers of the paschal supper, but still in figure, though more clear than in the old law. For the legal passover (I will not be afraid to speak it) was a more obscure figure of a figure."

St. Chrysostom[c] affirms dogmatically, "That before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread; but the Divine grace sanctifying it by the means of the priest, it is freed from the name of bread, but it is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it." And again: "As thou eatest the body of the Lord; so they (*the faithful in the Old Testament*) did eat manna; as thou drinkest blood, so they the water of the rock. For though the things which are made, be sensible, yet they are given spiritually, not according to the consequence of nature, but according to the grace of a gift; and with the body they also nourish the soul, leading unto faith[d]."

To these very many more might be added; but instead of them, the words of St. Austin may suffice, as being an evident conviction what was the doctrine of the primitive church in this question. This great doctor[e] brings in Christ thus speaking as to his disciples: "You are not to eat this body which you see, or to drink that blood which my crucifiers shall pour forth: I have commended to you a sacrament, which, being spiritually understood, shall quicken you:" and again[f]; "Christ brought them to a banquet, in which he commended to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. For he did not doubt to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave the sign of his body:" and[g], "That which by

[a] De sacris Antioch. legibus apud Photium, lib. i. c. 229.

[b] Orat. 2. in Pasch.

[c] Ep. ad Cæs. cont. hæres. Apollinarii, cit. per Damascen. et per collect. senten. Patrum cont. Severianos, edit. per Turrianum.

[d] Homil. 23. in 1 Cor. [e] In Psal. xcviii. [f] Cont. Adimantium, c. 12.

[g] Lib. x. cont. Faust. Manich.

all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice, in which the flesh of Christ, after his assumption, is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrances.

But, in this particular, the canon law[h] itself, and the Master of the Sentences, are the best witnesses; in both which collections there are divers testimonies brought, especially from St. Ambrose and St. Austin, which whosoever can reconcile with the doctrine of transubstantiation, may easily put the hyena and a dog, a pigeon and a kite, into couples, and make fire and water enter into natural and eternal friendships.

Theodoret and Pope Gelasius speak more emphatically, even to the nature of things, and the very philosophy of this question. "Christ honoured the symbols and the signs," saith Theodoret[i], "which are seen, with the title of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but to nature adding grace." "For neither[k] do the mystical signs recede from their nature; for they abide in their proper substance, figure, and form, and may be seen and touched," &c. And for a tetimony that shall be esteemed infallible, we allege the words of Pope Gelasius[l]; "Truly the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, are a Divine thing; for that by them we are made partakers of the Divine nature; and yet it ceases not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine. And truly an image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries[m]."

Now, from these premises we are not desirous to infer any odious consequences in reproof of the Roman church; but we think it our duty to give our own people caution and admonition; 1. That they be not abused by the rhetorical words and high expressions, alleged out of the fathers, calling the sacrament, 'The body or the flesh of Christ.' For we all believe it is so, and rejoice in it. But the question is,—After what manner it is so;—whether after the

[h] De Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Qui manducant: et cap. Prima quidem: et cap. Non hoc corpus; et cap. Ut quid paras. Sentent. lib. iv. dist. 11.

[i] Dialog. i. c. 8. [k] Dial. ii. c. 24.

[l] De duabus Naturis contra Eutych. et Nestor.

[m] Videatur Pichorellus in Dissert. de Missa et Expositione verborum institutionis cœnæ Domini.

manner of the flesh, or after the manner of spiritual grace, and sacramental consequence? We, with the holy Scriptures and the primitive fathers, affirm the latter. The church of Rome, against the words of Scripture, and the explication of Christ[n], and the doctrine of the primitive church, affirm the former. 2. That they be careful not to admit such doctrines under a pretence of being ancient; since, although the Roman error hath been too long admitted, and is ancient in respect of our days, yet it is an innovation in Christianity, and brought in by ignorance, power, and superstition, very many ages after Christ. 3. We exhort them[o], that they remember the words of Christ, when he explicates the doctrine of 'giving us his flesh for meat, and his blood for drink,' that he tells us, 'The flesh profiteth nothing, but the words which he speaks, are spirit, and they are life.'

4. That if those ancient and primitive doctors, above cited, say true, and that the symbols still remain the same in their natural substance and properties, even after they are blessed, and when they are received, and that Christ's body and blood are only present to faith and to the spirit, that then whoever tempts them to give Divine honour to these symbols or elements (as the church of Rome does), tempts them to give to a creature the due and incommunicable propriety of God; and that then this evil passes further than an error in the understanding; for it carries them to a dangerous practice, which cannot reasonably be excused from the crime of idolatry. To conclude:—

This matter, of itself, is an error so prodigiously great and dangerous, that we need not tell of the horrid and blasphemous questions, which are sometimes handled by them concerning this Divine mystery. As if a priest going by a baker's shop, and saying with intention, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' whether all the baker's bread be turned into the body of Christ? Whether a church-mouse does eat her Maker? Whether a man, by eating the consecrated symbols, does break his fast? For if it be not bread and wine, he does not: and if it be Christ's body and blood naturally and properly, it is not bread and wine. Whether it may be said, the priest is, in some sense, the creator of God himself?

[n] John, vi. 63. [o] Ubi supra.

Whether his power be greater than the power of angels and archangels? For that it is so, is expressly affirmed by Cassenæus[p]. Whether (as a Bohemian priest said) that 'a priest before he said his first mass, be the Son of God, but afterward he is the father of God and the creator of his body?' But against this blasphemy, a book was written by John Huss, about the time of the council of Constance. But these things are too bad, and therefore we love not to rake in so filthy channels, but give only a general warning to all our charges, to take heed of such persons, who, from the proper consequences of their articles, grow too bold and extravagant; and, of such doctrines from whence these and many other evil propositions, ὁμιλίαι κακαὶ, frequently do issue. As the tree is, such must be the fruit. But we hope it may be sufficient to say, 1. That what the church of Rome teaches of transubstantiation, is absolutely impossible, and implies contradictions very many; to the belief of which no faith can oblige us, and no reason can endure. For Christ's body being in heaven, glorious, spiritual, and impassible, cannot be broken. And since by the Roman doctrine nothing is broken but that which cannot be broken, that is, the colour, the taste, and other accidents of the elements: yet if they could be broken, since the accidents of bread and wine are not the substance of Christ's body and blood; it is certain that, on the altar, Christ's body naturally and properly cannot be broken. And, 2. Since they say, that every consecrated wafer is Christ's whole body, and yet this wafer is not that wafer; therefore either this or that is not Christ's body, or else Christ hath two bodies, for there are two wafers. But, 3. when Christ instituted the sacrament, and said, 'This is my body, which is broken;' because, at that time, Christ's body was not broken naturally and properly, the very words of institution do force us to understand the sacrament in a sense not natural, but spiritual, that is, truly sacramental. 4. And all this is besides the plain demonstrations of sense, which tells us, it is bread and it is wine naturally as much after as before consecration. And after all, 5. the natural sense is such as our blessed Saviour reproved in the men of Capernaum, and called them to spiritual understanding; the

[p] Gloria Mundi 4. n. 6.

natural sense being not only unreasonable and impossible; but also to no purpose of the spirit, or any ways perfective of the soul; as hath been clearly demonstrated by many learned men, against the fond hypothesis of the church of Rome in this article.

SECTION VI.

Our next instance of the novelty of the Roman religion, in their articles of division from us, is that of the half-communion. For they deprive the people of the chalice, and dismember the institution of Christ, and prevaricate his express law in this particular, and recede from the practice of the apostles; and though they confess it was the practice of the primitive church, yet they lay it aside, and curse all them that say they do amiss in it; that is, they curse them who follow Christ, and his apostles, and his church, while themselves deny to follow them.

Now for this we need no other testimony but their own words in the council of Constance[a]: "Whereas, in certain parts of the world, some temerariously presume to affirm, that the Christian people ought to receive the sacrament of the eucharist, under both kinds of bread and wine, and do every where communicate the laity not only in bread but in wine also;"——Hence it is that the council decrees and defines against this error, "that although Christ instituted after supper, and administered this venerable sacrament under both kinds of bread and wine, yet notwithstanding this, &c.—— And although in the primitive church, this sacrament was received of the faithful under both kinds, &c."—Here is the acknowledgment, both of Christ's institution in both kinds, and Christ's ministering it in both kinds, and the practice of the primitive church to give it in both kinds: yet the conclusion from these premises is; "We command, under the pain of excommunication, that no priest communicate the people under both kinds of bread and wine." The opposition is plain: "Christ's testament ordains it; the church of Rome forbids it: it was the primitive custom to obey Christ

[a] Concil. Constant. sess. 13.

in this; a later custom is by the church of Rome introduced to the contrary." To say that the first practice and institution is necessary to be followed, is called heretical: to refuse the later subintroduced custom incurs the sentence of excommunication: and this they have passed not only into a law, but into an article of faith; and if this be not 'teaching for doctrines the commandments of men,' and worshipping God in vain with men's traditions; then there is, and there was, and there can be, no such thing in the world.

So that now the question is not, Whether this doctrine and practice be an innovation, but whether it be not better it should be so? Whether it be not better to drink new wine than old? Whether it be not better to obey man than Christ, 'who is God blessed for ever?' Whether a late custom be not to be preferred before the ancient? A custom dissonant from the institution of Christ, before that which is wholly consonant to what Christ did and taught? This is such a bold affirmative of the church of Rome, that nothing can suffice to rescue us from an amazement in the consideration of it: especially since, although the institution itself, being the only warranty and authority for what we do, is, of itself, our rule and precept (according to that of the lawyer[b], "Institutiones sunt præceptiones quibus instituuntur et docentur homines);" yet besides this, Christ added preceptive words, 'Drink ye all, of this[c]:' he spake it to all that received, who then also represented all them, who for ever after were to remember Christ's death.

But concerning the doctrine of antiquity in this point; although the council of Constance confess the question, yet since that time they have "taken on them a new confidence, and affirm, that the half-communion was always, more or less, the practice of the most ancient times."—We therefore think it fit to produce testimonies concurrent with the saying of the council of Constance, such as are irrefragable, and of persons beyond exception. Cassander[d] affirms, "That, in the Latin church, for above a thousand years, the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ, were separately given, the body apart, and the blood apart, after the consecration of the

[b] Accursius, Præfat. super Institut. Justin.
[c] Mat. xxvi. 27.
[d] Consult sect. 22.

mysteries."—So Aquinas[e] also affirms; "According to the ancient custom of the church, all men as they communicated in the body, so they communicated in the blood; which also, to this day, is kept in some churches."—And therefore Paschasius Rathbertus[f] resolves it dogmatically, "That neither the flesh without the blood, nor the blood without the flesh, is rightly communicated; because the apostles all of them did drink of the chalice." And Salmeron[g] being forced by the evidence of the thing, ingenuously and openly confesses, "That it was a general custom to communicate the laity under both kinds."

It was so, and it was more: there was anciently a law for it, "Aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur," said Pope Gelasius[h]. Either all or none; 'let them receive in both kinds, or in neither;' and he gives this reason; "Quia divisio unius et ejusdem mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire:" "The mystery is but one and the same, and therefore it cannot be divided without great sacrilege." The reason concludes as much of the receiver as the consecrator, and speaks of all indefinitely.

Thus it is acknowledged to have been in the Latin church[i], and thus we see it ought to have been: and for the Greek church there is no question; for even to this day they communicate the people in the chalice. But this case is so plain, and there are such clear testimonies out of the fathers recorded in their own canon-law; that nothing can obscure it, but to use too many words about it. We therefore do exhort our people to take care, that they suffer not themselves to be robbed of their portion of Christ, as he is pleased sacramentally and graciously to communicate himself unto us.

[e] Commen. in 6. Joh. lect. 7. [f] De corp. et sang. Domini, c. 9.
[g] Tract. 35.
[h] Apud Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Comperimus.
[i] Vide Ochagav. de Sacr. Tract. 2. de Euchar. q. 18. De Consecrat. dist. 2. c. Si non sunt, et cap. Quia passus, et cap. Prima quidem, et cap. Tunc eis, et cap. Accesserunt.

SECTION VII.

As the church of Rome does great injury to Christendom, in taking from the people what Christ gave them in the matter of the sacrament; so she also deprives them of very much of the benefit, which they might receive by their holy prayers, if they were suffered to pray in public in a language they understand. But that is denied to the common people, to their very great prejudice and injury.

Concerning which, although it is as possible to reconcile adultery with the seventh commandment, as service in a language not understood to the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; and that therefore if we can suppose, that the apostolical age did follow the apostolical rule, it must be concluded, that the practice of the church of Rome is contrary to the practice of the primitive church: yet besides this, we have thought fit to declare the plain sense and practice of the succeeding ages, in a few testimonies, but so pregnant, as not to be avoided.

Origen[a] affirms, that "the Grecians, in their prayers, use the Greek,—and the Romans, the Roman language; and so every one, according to his tongue, prayeth unto God, and praiseth him as he is able." St. Chrysostom, urging the precept of the apostle for prayers in a language understood by the hearer, affirms that which is but reasonable, saying, "If a man speaks in the Persian tongue, and understands not what himself says, to himself he is a Barbarian, and therefore so he is to him that understands no more than he does." And what profit can he receive, who hears a sound, and discerns it not? It were as good he were absent as present: for if he be the better to be there, because he sees what is done, and guesses at something in general, and consents[b] to him that ministers: it is true, this may be, but this therefore is so, because he understands something; but he is only so far benefited as he understands; and therefore all that which is not understood, does him no more benefit that

[a] Lib. viii. contra Celsum.

[b] Affectus consequitur intellectum; ubi autem nullus earum rerum, quæ petuntur vel dicuntur, habetur intellectus, aut generaliter tantum; ibi exiguus assurgit affectus.—*Azor. Inst. moral.* tom. 1. lib. ix. c. 34. q. 8.

is present, than to him that is absent, and consents to the prayers in general, and to what is done for all faithful people. But "if indeed ye meet for the edification of the church, those things ought to be spoken which the hearers understand," said St. Ambrose:—and so it was in the primitive church; "blessings, and all other things in the church, were done in the vulgar tongue, saith Lyra[c];" nay, not only the public prayers, but the whole Bible, was anciently, by many translations, made fit for the people's use. St. Jerome[d] affirms, that himself translated the Bible into the Dalmatian tongue; and Ulphilas[e], a bishop among the Goths, translated it into the Gothic tongue; and that it was translated into all languages, we are told by St. Chrysostom[f], St. Austin[g], and Theodoret[h].

But although what twenty fathers say, can make a thing no more certain than if St. Paul had alone said it, yet both St. Paul and the fathers are frequent to tell us, that a service or prayers in an unknown tongue, do not edify: so St. Basil[i], St. Chrysostom[k], St. Ambrose[l], and St. Austin[m]; and this is consented to by Aquinas[n], Lyra[o], and Cassander[p]: and besides that these doctors affirm, that in the primitive church the priest and people joined in their prayers, and understood each other, and prayed in their mother-tongue: we find a story (how true it is, let them look to it, but it is) told by Æneas Sylvius[q], who was afterwards Pope Pius II., that when Cyrillus, bishop of the Moravians, and Methodius, had converted the Slavonians, Cyril being at Rome, desired leave to use the language of that nation in their Divine offices. Concerning which, when they were disputing, a voice was heard, as if from heaven, 'Let every spirit praise the Lord, and every tongue confess unto him:' upon which it was granted according to the bishop's desire. But now they are not so kind at Rome: and although the fathers at Trent confessed

[c] In 1 Cor. xiv.
[d] Epist. ad Sophron.
[e] Sozom. lib. vi. hist. c. 37.
[f] Hom. 1. in 8. Joan.
[g] De Doctr. Christ. c. 5.
[h] Serm. 5. de Græcar. affect. curat.
[i] Lib. Qui ex var. Script. locis, q. 278.
[k] In 1 Cor. hom. 35.
[l] Super 1 Cor. xiv.
[m] Super. Psal. xviii. con. 2.
[n] In 1 Cor. xiv.
[o] Ibid.
[p] Liturg. c. 18.
[q] Histor. Bohem. c. 13.

in their decree, that the mass contains in it great matter of erudition and edification of the people, yet they did not think it fit, that it should be said in the vulgar tongue: so that it is very good food, but it must be locked up; it is an excellent candle, but it must be put under a bushel: and now the question is, Whether it be fit that the people pray so as to be edified by it? or, Is it better that they be at the prayers, when they shall not be edified? Whether it be not as good to have a dumb priest to do mass, as one that hath a tongue to say it? For he that hath no tongue, and he that hath none to be understood, is alike insignificant to me. "Quid prodest locutionum integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis? cum loquendi nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos ut intelligant, loquimur," said St. Austin[r]: "What does it avail, that man speaks all, if the hearers understand none? and there is no cause why a man should speak at all, if they, for whose understanding you do speak, understand it not." God understands the priest's thoughts, when he speaks not, as well as when he speaks; he hears the prayer of the heart, and sees the word of the mind, and a dumb priest can do all the ceremonies, and make the signs; and he that speaks aloud to them that understand him not, does no more. Now, since there is no use of vocal prayer in public, but that all together may signify their desires, and stir up one another, and join in the expression of them to God by this device,—a man who understands not what is said, can only pray with his lips: for the heart cannot pray but by desiring, and it cannot desire what it understands not. So that, in this case, prayer cannot be an act of the soul: there is neither affection nor understanding, notice or desire: the heart says nothing, and asks for nothing, and therefore receives nothing. Solomon calls that "the sacrifice of fools," when men consider not; and they who understand not what is said, cannot take it into consideration. But there needs no more to be said in so plain a case. We end this with the words of the civil and canon law. Justinian, the emperor, made a law in these words, "We will and command, that all bishops and priests celebrate the sacred oblation, and the prayers thereunto

[r] De Doct. Christ. lib. iv. c. 10.

added in holy baptism; not in a low voice, but with a loud and clear voice, which may be *heard* by the faithful people;" that is, be *understood;* for so it follows[s], "that thereby the minds of the hearers may be raised up, with greater devotion, to set forth the praises of the Lord God; for so the apostle teacheth in the first to the Corinthians." It is true, that this law was razed out of the Latin versions of Justinian. The fraud and design was too palpable, but it prevailed nothing; for it is acknowledged by Cassander and Bellarmine, and is in the Greek copies of Holoander[t].

The canon-law is also most express, from an authority of no less than a pope and a general council, as themselves esteem; Innocent III., in the great council of Lateran[u], above one thousand two hundred years after Christ, in these words: "Because, in most parts, within the same city and diocese, the people of divers tongues are mixed together, having, under one and the same faith, divers ceremonies and rites, we straitly charge and command, that the bishops of such cities and dioceses provide men fit, who may celebrate Divine service according to the diversity of ceremonies and languages, and administer the sacraments of the church, instructing them, both by word and by example."

Now if the words of the apostle, and the practice of the primitive church, the sayings of the fathers, and the confessions of wise men amongst themselves; if the consent of nations, and the piety of our forefathers; if right reason, and the necessity of the thing; if the needs of the ignorant, and the very inseparable conditions of holy prayers; if the laws of princes, and the laws of the church, which do require all our prayers to be said by them, that understand what they say; if all these cannot prevail with the church of Rome to do so much good to the people's souls, as to consent they should understand what in particular they are to ask of God: certainly there is a great pertinacity of opinion, and but a little charity to those precious souls, for whom Christ died, and for whom they must give account.

Indeed the old Tuscan rites, and the soothsayings of the Salian priests, 'Vix sacerdotibus suis intellecta, sed quæ

[s] Novel. 123.
[t] De Missa. lib. ii. c. 13. sect. ad Novellam.
[u] Cap. 9.

mutari vetat religio,' were scarce understood by their priests themselves, but their religion forbad to change them [x]. Thus anciently did the Osseni [y],—heretics, of whom Epiphanius tells,—and the Heracleonitæ, of whom St. Austin gives account; they taught to pray with obscure words: and some others, in Clemens Alexandrinus, supposed, that words spoken in a barbarous or unknown tongue, δυνατωτέρας, 'are more powerful.' The Jews also, in their synagogues at this day, read Hebrew, which the people but rarely understand; and the Turks, in their mosques, read Arabick, of which the people know nothing. But Christians never did so, till they of Rome resolved to refuse to do benefit to the souls of the people in this instance, or to bring them from intolerable ignorance.

SECTION VIII.

The church of Rome hath, to very bad purposes, introduced and imposed upon Christendom the worship and veneration of images, kissing them, pulling off their hats, kneeling, falling down and praying before them, which they call 'Giving them due honour and veneration.' What external honour and veneration that is, which they call 'due,' is expressed by the instances now reckoned, which the council of Trent, in their decree, enumerate and establish. What 'the inward honour and worship' is, which they intend to them, is intimated in the same decree. By the images they worship Christ and his saints; and, therefore, by these images, they pass that honour to Christ and his saints which is their due; that is, as their doctors explain it, 'latria,' or 'Divine worship' to God and Christ; 'hyperdulia,' or 'more than service,' to the blessed Virgin Mary; and 'service,' or 'doulia,' to other canonized persons. So that upon the whole, the case is this: Whatever worship they give to God, and Christ, and his saints, they give it first to the image, and from the image they pass it unto Christ and Christ's servants. And, therefore, we need not to inquire what actions they

[x] Quintil. lib. i. 6. 41. [y] Verb. Ossen. c. 6. ad Quod vult Deum.

suppose to be fit or due. For whatsoever is due to God, to Christ, or his saints, that worship they give to their respective images; all the same in external semblance and ministry: as appears in all their great churches, and public actions, and processions, and temples, and festivals, and endowments, and censings, and pilgrimages, and prayers, and vows made to them.

Now, besides that these things are so like idolatry, that they can no way be reasonably excused (of which we shall, in the next chapter[a], give some account); besides that they are too like the religion of the heathens, and so plainly and frequently forbidden in the Old Testament, and are so infinitely unlike the simple and wise, the natural and holy, the pure and the spiritual religion of the Gospel; besides that they are so infinite a scandal to the Jews and Turks, and reproach Christianity itself amongst all strangers that live in their communion, and observe their rites; besides that they cannot pretend to be lawful, but with the laborious artifices of many metaphysical notions and distinctions, which the people who most need them, do least understand; and that, therefore, the people worship them without these distinctions, and directly put confidence in them; and that it is impossible that ignorant persons, who, in all Christian countries, make up the biggest number, should do otherwise, when otherwise they cannot understand it; and besides, that the thing itself, with or without distinctions, is a superstitious and forbidden, an unlawful and unnatural worship of God, who will not be worshipped by an image: we say, that, besides all this, this whole doctrine and practice is an innovation in the Christian church, not practised, not endured in the primitive ages, but expressly condemned by them; and this is our present undertaking to evince.

The first notice we find of images brought into Christian religion, was by Simon Magus: indeed that was very ancient, but very heretical and abominable: but that he brought some in to be worshipped, we find in Theodoret[b] and St. Austin. St. Irenæus tells[c], that the Gnostics or Carpocratians did make images, and said, that the form of Christ, as

[a] Chap. ii. sect. 12. [b] Hæret. Fabul. lib. i.

[c] De Hæres. lib. i. c. 23. Vide etiam Epiphan. tom. ii. lib. i. hæres. 27. et S. August. de Hæres. lib. vi. strom. et in parænetico.

he was in the flesh, was made by Pilate; and these images they worshipped, as did the Gentiles: these things they did, but against these things the Christians did zealously and piously declare: "We have no image in the world," said St. Clemens of Alexandria: "It is apparently forbidden to us to exercise that deceitful art: for it is written, Thou shalt not make any similitude of any thing in heaven above," &c. And Origen[d] wrote a just treatise against Celsus, in which he not only affirms, 'That Christians did not make or use images in religion, but that they ought not, and were, by God, forbidden to do so.' To the same purpose, also, Lactantius discourses to the emperor, and confutes the pretences and little answers of the heathen in that manner, that he leaves no pretence for Christians, under another cover, to introduce the like abomination.

We are not ignorant, that those, who were converted from Gentilism, and those who loved to imitate the customs of the Roman princes and people, did soon introduce the historical use of images, and, according to the manner of the world, did think it honourable to depict or make images of those whom they had in great esteem; and that this being done by an esteem, relying on religion, did, by the weakness of men, and the importunity of the tempter, quickly pass into inconvenience and superstition; yet even in the time of Julian the emperor, St. Cyril denies[e], that the Christians did give veneration and worship to the image, even of the cross itself, which was one of the earliest temptations; and St. Epiphanius (it is a known story) tells, that when, in the village of Bethel, he saw a cloth picture, "as it were, of Christ, or some saint in the church, against the authority of Scripture;" he cut it in pieces, and advised that some poor man should be buried in it; affirming, "that such pictures are against religion, and unworthy of the church of Christ." The epistle was translated into Latin by St. Jerome; by which we may guess at his opinion in the question.

The council of Eliberis is very ancient[f], and of great fame; in which it is expressly forbidden, that what is worshipped should be depicted on the walls; and that, there-

[d] Cont. Cels. lib. vii. et viii. [e] Epist. ad Joh. Hieros.

[f] Can. 36. Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne, quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

fore, pictures ought not to be in churches. St. Austin[g], complaining that he knew of many in the church, who were worshippers of pictures, calls them 'superstitious;' and adds, that 'the church condemns such customs, and strives to correct them;' and St. Gregory, writing to Serenus, bishop of Masilia, says, 'he would not have had him to break the pictures and images, which were there set for an historical use; but commends him for prohibiting any one to worship them, and enjoins him still to forbid it.' But superstition, by degrees, creeping in, the worship of images was decreed in the seventh synod, or the second Nicene. But the decrees of this synod being, by pope Adrian[h], sent to Charles the Great, he convocated a synod of German and French bishops, at Frankfort, who discussed the acts passed at Nice, and condemned them: and the acts of this synod, although they were diligently suppressed by the pope's arts, yet Eginardus, Hincmarus, Aventinus, Blondus, Adon, Aymonius, and Regino, famous historians, tell us, that the bishops of Frankfort condemned the synod of Nice, and commanded it should not be called a 'general council;' and published a book under the name of the emperor, confuting that unchristian assembly; and not long since, this book, and the acts of Frankfort, were published by bishop Tillius; by which, not only the infinite fraud of the Roman doctors is discovered, but the worship of images is declared against and condemned.

A while after this, Ludovicus, the son of Charlemagne, sent Claudius, a famous preacher, to Taurinum in Italy, where he preached against the worshipping of images, and wrote an excellent book to that purpose. Against this book, Jonas, bishop of Orleans, after the death of Ludovicus and Claudius, did write: in which he yet durst not assert the worship of them, but confuted it out of Origen, whose words he thus cites: "Images are neither to be esteemed by inward affection, nor worshipped with outward show:" and out of Lactantius these: "Nothing is to be worshipped, that is seen with mortal eyes; let us adore, let us worship nothing, but the name alone of our only Parent, who is to be

[g] De Morib. Eccles. lib. i. c. 34. Idem de Fide et Symbolo. c. 7. et contr. Adimant. c. 13.

[h] A. D. 764.

sought for in the regions above, not here below:" and to the same purpose, he also alleges excellent words out of Fulgentius and St. Jerome; and though he would have images retained, and, therefore, was angry at Claudius, who caused them to be taken down, yet he himself expressly affirms, that they ought not to be worshipped; and withal adds, that though they kept the images in their churches for history and ornament, yet that, in France, the worshipping of them was had in great detestation. And though it is not to be denied, but that, in the sequel of Jonas's book[i], he does something prevaricate in this question; yet it is evident, that, in France, this doctrine was not accounted catholic for almost nine hundred years after Christ; and in Germany, it was condemned for almost one thousand two hundred years, as we find in Nicetas.

We are not unskilled in the devices of the Roman writers, and with how much artifice they would excuse this whole matter, and palliate the crime imputed to them, and elude the Scriptures expressly condemning this superstition: but we know also, that the arts of sophistry are not the ways of salvation. And, therefore, we exhort our people to follow the plain words of Scripture, and the express law of God in the second commandment; and add also the exhortation of St. John[k], "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." To conclude; it is impossible but that it must be confessed, that the worship of images was a thing unknown to the primitive church; in the purest times of which, they would not allow the making of them; as, amongst divers others, appears in the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus[l], Tertullian[m], and Origen[n].

SECTION IX.

As an appendage to this, we greatly reprove the custom of the church of Rome, in picturing God the Father, and the most holy and undivided Trinity: which, besides that it

[i] Lib. ii. in Vita Isaaci Angeli, A. D. 1160.
[k] 1 John, v. 21.
[l] Strom. lib. vi. et in Protrep.
[m] Lib. ii. c. 22. advers. Marcion. et de Idololatr. c. 3.
[n] Cont. Celsum. lib. iv.

ministers infinite scandal to all sober-minded men, and gives the new Arians, in Polonia, and antitrinitarians, great and ridiculous entertainment, exposing that sacred mystery to derision and scandalous contempt; it is also (which at present we have undertaken particularly to remark) against the doctrine and practice of the primitive catholic church.

St. Clemens of Alexandria says [a], 'that in the discipline of Moses, God was not to be represented in the shape of a man, or of any other thing:' and that Christians understood themselves to be bound by the same law, we find it expressly taught by Origen [b], Tertullian [c], Eusebius [d], Athanasius [e], St. Jerome [f], St. Austin [g], St. Theodoret [h], Damascen [i], and the synod of Constantinople, as is reported in the sixth action of the second Nicene council. And certainly, if there were not a strange spirit of contradiction, or superstition, or deflection, from the Christian rule, greatly prevailing in the church of Rome, it were impossible that this practice should be so countenanced by them, and defended so, to no purpose, with so much scandal, and against the natural reason of mankind, and the very law of nature itself: for the heathens were sufficiently, by the light of nature, taught to abominate all pictures or images of God.

> Sed nulla effigies, simulacraque nota Deorum
> Majestate locum et sacro implevere timore [k].

They, in their earliest ages, had "no pictures, no images of their gods: their temples were filled with majesty and a sacred fear." And the reason is given by Macrobius [l]: "Antiquity made no image," viz. *of God*; "because the supreme God, and the Mind that is born of him," that is, *his Son, the eternal Word*, "as it is beyond the soul, so it is above nature, and, therefore, it is not lawful, that figments should come thither."

Nicephorus Callistus [m], relating the heresy of the Armenians and Jacobites, says, they made images of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; "Quod perquàm absurdum est:"

[a] Stromat. lib. i.
[b] Contra Celsum, lib. vii.
[c] De Corona Militis.
[d] Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 5.
[e] Orat. contra Gentes.
[f] In c. 40. Isa.
[g] De Fide et Symbol. c. 7.
[h] In Deut. q. 1.
[i] De Orthod. Fide, lib. iv. c. 17.
[k] Sil. Ital. iii. 30. Ruperti, v. i. p. 177.
[l] In Somn. Scip. lib. i. c. 2.
[m] Lib. xviii. c. 53.

"Nothing is more absurd" than to make pictures or images of the persons of the holy and adorable Trinity. And yet they do this in the church of Rome: for in the windows of their churches, even in country villages, where the danger cannot be denied to be great, and the scandal insupportable; nay, in their books of devotion, in their very mass-books and breviaries, in their portuises and manuals, they picture the holy Trinity with three noses, and four eyes, and three faces, in a knot, to the great dishonour of God, and scandal of Christianity itself. We add no more (for the case is too evidently bad), but reprove the error with the words of their own Polydore Virgil[a]: "Since the world began, never was any thing more foolish than to picture God, who is present every where."

SECTION X.

THE last instance of innovations introduced in doctrine and practice by the church of Rome, that we shall represent, is, that of the pope's universal bishoprick; that is, not only that he is bishop of bishops, superior to all and every one; but that his bishoprick is a plenitude of power; and as for other bishops, 'of his fulness they all receive,' a part of the ministry and solicitude; and not only so, but that he only is a bishop by immediate Divine dispensation, and others receive from him whatsoever they have: for to this height many of them are come at last. Which doctrine, although as it is in sins, where the carnal are most full of reproach, but the spiritual are of greatest malignity; so it happens in this article. For, though it be not so scandalous as their idolatry, so ridiculous as their superstitions, so unreasonable as their doctrine of transubstantiation, so easily reproved as their half-communion, and service in an unknown tongue; yet it is of as dangerous and evil effect, and as false, and as certainly an innovation, as any thing in their whole conjugation of errors.

When Christ founded his church, he left it in the hands of his apostles, without any prerogative given to one, or eminency above the rest, save only of priority and orderly

[a] Lib. ii. de Invent. c. 23.

precedency, which of itself was natural, necessary, and incident. The apostles governed all; their authority was the sanction, and their decrees and writings were the laws of the church. They exercised a common jurisdiction, and divided it according to the needs, and emergencies, and circumstances of the church. In the council of Jerusalem, St. Peter gave not the decisive sentence, but St. James, who was the bishop of that see. Christ sent all his apostles, as his Father sent him; and, therefore, he gave to every one of them the whole power, which he left behind; and to the bishops congregated at Miletum, St. Paul gave them caution to take care of the whole flock of God [a], and affirms to them all, that the "Holy Ghost had made them bishops:" and in the whole New Testament, there is no act or sign of superiority, or that one apostle exercised power over another; but to them whom Christ sent, he in common intrusted the church of God: according to that excellent saying of St. Cyprian, "The other apostles are the same that St. Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship of honour and power; and they are all shepherds, and the flock is one [b];" and, therefore, it ought to be fed by the apostles with unanimous consent.

This unity and identity of power, without question and interruption, did continue and descend to bishops in the primitive church, in which it was a known doctrine, that the bishops were successors to the apostles: and what was not in the beginning, could not be in the descent, unless it were innovated and introduced by a new authority. Christ gave ordinary power to none but the apostles; and the power being to continue for ever in the church, it was to be succeeded to; and by the same authority, even of Christ, it descended to them who were their successors, that is, to the bishops, as all antiquity does consent and teach [c]: not St.

[a] Acts, xx. 28.

[b] Epist. de Unit. Ecclesiæ ad Novatian. et habetur cans. 24. qu. 1.

[c] Irenæ. lib. 4. c. 43, 44. S. Cyprian. lib. i. ep. 6. et lib. ii. ep. 10. et lib. iv. ep. 9. S. Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 1. S. Aug. de Baptism. contra Donat. lib. vii. c. 43. et ibid. Clarus a Muscula. Idem de verb. Dom. Ser. 24. Con. Rom. sub Sylvest. Const. Apost. lib. vii. c. ult. Anacl. P. ep. 2. Clemens P. ep. lib. 8. Hieron. ep. 13. et ep. 54. Euthym. in Psalm. xliv. S. Gregor. in Evang. Hom. 26. ad Heliodor. ep. 1. S. Chrysost. ser. Damascen. de Imaginibus: Orat. 9. S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Basilii.

Peter alone, but every apostle, and, therefore, every one who succeeds them in their ordinary power, may and must remember the words of St. Paul; "We are ambassadors or legates for Christ:" 'Christ's vicars,' not 'the pope's delegates:' and so all the apostles are called in the preface of the mass; "Quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti præesse pastores;" they are 'pastors' of the flock and 'vicars' of Christ; and so also they are, in express terms, called by St. Ambrose[d]; and, therefore, it is a strange usurpation, that the pope arrogates that to himself by impropriation, which is common to him with all the bishops of Christendom.

The consequent of this is, that by the law of Christ, one bishop is not superior to another: Christ gave the power to all alike; he made no head of the bishops; he gave to none a supremacy of power, or universality of jurisdiction. But this the pope hath long challenged, and to bring his purposes to pass, hath, for these six hundred years by-gone, invaded the rights of bishops, and delegated matters of order and jurisdiction to monks and friars; insomuch that the power of bishops was greatly diminished at the erecting of the Cluniack and Cistercian monks about the year ML: but about the year MCC, it was almost swallowed up by privileges granted to the Begging Friars, and there kept by the power of the pope: which power got one great step more above the bishops, when they got it declared, that the pope is above a council of bishops: and at last it was turned into a new doctrine by Cajetan (who for his prosperous invention was made a cardinal), that all the whole apostolic or episcopal power, is radical and inherent in the pope, in whom is the fulness of the ecclesiastical authority; and that bishops received their portion of it from him: and this was first boldly maintained in the council of Trent by the Jesuits; and it is now the opinion of their order; but it is also that which the pope challenges in practice, when he pretends to a power over all bishops, and that this power is derived to him from Christ; when he calls himself the universal bishop, and the vicarial head of the church, the church's monarch, he from whom all ecclesiastical authority is derived, to whose

[d] In epist. 1. ad Corin. cap. 3. et in epist. ad Roman. c. 1.

sentence in things Divine, every Christian, under pain of damnation, is bound to be subject[e].

Now, this is it, which, as it is productive of infinite mischiefs, so it is an innovation, and an absolute deflection from the primitive catholic doctrine, and yet is the great groundwork and foundation of their church. This we shall represent in these following testimonies. Pope Eleutherius[f], in an epistle to the bishops of France, says, 'That Christ committed the universal church to the bishops;' and St. Ambrose says, 'That the bishop holdeth the place of Christ, and is his substitute.' But, famous are the words of St. Cyprian; "The church of Christ is one through the whole world, divided by him into many members, and the bishoprick is but one, diffused in the agreeing plurality of many bishops." —And again; "To every pastor a portion of the flock is given, which let every one of them rule and govern." By which words it is evident, that the primitive church understood no prelation of one, and subordination of another, commanded by Christ, or by virtue of their ordination; but only what was for order's sake introduced by princes, and consent of prelates; and it was to this purpose very full which was said by pope Symmachus[g]: "As it is in the holy Trinity, whose power is one and undivided (or, to use the expression in the Athanasian Creed, 'none is before or after other, none is greater or less than another);' so there is one bishoprick amongst divers bishops; and, therefore, why should the canons of the ancient bishops be violated by their successors? Now these words being spoken against the invasion of the rights of the Church of Arles, by Anastasius, and the question being in the exercise of jurisdiction, and about the institution of bishops, does fully declare that the bishops of Rome had no superiority by the laws of Christ, over any bishop in the catholic church, and that his bishoprick gave no more power to him, than Christ gave to the bishop of the smallest diocese.

And, therefore, all the church of God, whenever they reckoned the several orders and degrees of ministry in the

[e] Extrav. Com. lib. i. tit. 9. de Major. et Obed. cap. Unam Sanctam.
[f] Referente Archiepisc. Granatensi in Concil. Trid. Ubi supra.
[g] Apud Baro. tom. 6. A. D. 499. n. 36.

catholic church, reckon the bishops as the last and supreme, beyond whom there is no spiritual power but in Christ. For, "as the whole hierarchy ends in Jesus, so does every particular one in its own bishop[k]." Beyond the bishop there is no step, till you rest in the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls. Under him every bishop is supreme in spirituals, and in all power, which to any bishop is given by Christ. St. Ignatius, therefore, exhorts, that "all should obey their bishop, and the bishop obey Christ, as Christ obeyed his Father[l]."—There are no other intermedial degrees of Divine institution. But, as Origen teaches, "The apostles, and they, who, after them, are ordained by God, that is, the bishops, have the supreme place in the church, and the prophets have the second place." The same also is taught by Pope Gelasius[k], by St. Jerome[l], and Fulgentius[m], and indeed by all the fathers who spake any thing in this matter: insomuch, that when Bellarmine is, in this question, pressed, out of the book of Nilus, by the authority of the fathers standing against him, he answers, "Papam patres non habere in ecclesiâ, sed filios omnes:" "The pope acknowledges no fathers in the church, for they are all his sons."

Now although we suppose this to be greatly sufficient to declare the doctrine of the primitive catholic church, concerning the equality of power in all bishops by Divine right: yet the fathers have also expressly declared themselves, that one bishop is not superior to another, and ought not to judge another, or force another to obedience. They are the words of St. Cyprian to a council of bishops[n], "None of us makes himself a bishop of bishops, or, by tyrannical power, drives his colleagues to a necessity of obedience; since every bishop, according to the license of his own liberty and power, hath his own choice, and cannot be judged by another, not yet himself judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only and alone hath the power of setting us in the government of his church, and judging of what we do." This was spoken and intended against pope Stephen, who did then begin 'dominari in clero,' 'to

[k] Dionys. Areop. de Eccles. Hierarch. de Sacer. perfect.
[l] Epist. ad Smyrnens. et ad Philadel.
[l] In Jerem. hom. 7. et adver. Lucif.
[k] Dist. 97. c. Duo sunt.
[m] In Concil. Paris. lib. i. c. 3.
[n] In Concil. Carthag.

lord it over God's heritage,' and to excommunicate his brethren, as Demetrius did in the time of the apostles themselves: but they both found their reprovers; Demetrius was chastised by St. John for his usurpation, and Stephen by St. Cyprian[o]; and this also was approved by St. Austin. We conclude this particular with the words of St. Gregory[p], bishop of Rome; who, because the patriarch of Constantinople called himself universal bishop, said, it was a "proud title, profane, sacrilegious, and antichristian:" and, therefore, he little thought that his successors in the same see should so fiercely challenge that antichristian title: much less did the then bishop of Rome, in those ages, challenge it as their own peculiar; for they had no mind to be, or to be esteemed antichristian. "Romano pontifici oblatum est, sed nullus unquam eorum hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit." His predecessors, it seems, had been tempted with an offer of that title, but none of them ever assumed that name of singularity, as being 'against the law of the Gospel, and the canons of the church[q].'

Now this being a matter, of which Christ spake not one word to St. Peter, if it be a matter of faith and salvation, as it is now pretended, it is not imaginable he would have been so perfectly silent. But though he was silent of any intention to do this, yet St. Paul was not silent that Christ did otherwise; for he hath set in his church 'primùm apostolos,' 'first of all apostles;' not, first, St. Peter, and secondarily, apostles; but all the apostles were first. It is also evident that St. Peter did not carry himself so as to give the least overture or umbrage to make any one suspect he had any such preeminence; but he was, as St. Chrysostom truly says[r], μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιῶν γνώμης, 'he did all things with the common consent;' οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς, 'nothing by special authority or principality:' and if he had any such, it is more than probable that the apostles who survived him,

[o] De Bapt. contr. Donat. lib. iii. c. 3.

[p] Lib. iv. ep. 76, 78, 31, 34, 38, 39, &c. Lib. vi. ep. 24.

[q] Lib. iv. ep. 32. Quis est iste, qui contra statuta evangelica, contra canonum decreta, novum sibi usurpare nomen præsumit? Videatur epistola S. Hieron. ad Evagrium, Concil. Chalced. action 16. Concil. Nicen. can. 6. et can. 7. et Concil. Constantinopol. can. 3. et Novel. Justin. 131.

[r] In Act. Apost. hom. 3.

had succeeded him in it, rather than the bishop of Rome: and it being certain, as the bishop of Canaries confesses[s], "That there is, in Scripture, no revelation that the bishop of Rome should succeed Peter in it;" and we being there told that St. Peter was at Antioch, but never that he was at Rome; it being confessed by some of their own parties[t], by cardinal Cusanus, Soto, Driedo, Canus, and Segovius, that this succession was not addicted to any particular church, nor that Christ's institution of this does any other way appear; that it cannot be proved that the bishop of Rome is prince of the church: it being also certain, that there was no such thing known in the primitive church, but that the holy fathers, both of Africa and the East, did oppose pope Victor and pope Stephen, when they began to interpose with a presumptive authority, in the affairs of other churches; and that the bishops of the church did treat with the Roman bishop as with a brother, not as their superior: and that the general council, held at Chalcedon, did give to the bishops of Constantinople equal rights and preeminence with the bishops of Rome; and that the Greek churches are, at this day, and have been a long time, great opponents of this pretension of the bishops of Rome: and after all this, since it is certain that Christ, who foreknows all things, did also know that there would be great disputes and challenges of this preeminence[u], did indeed suppress it in his apostles, and said not it should be otherwise in succession, and did not give any command to his church to obey the bishops of Rome as his vicars, more than what he commanded concerning all bishops; it must be certain, that it cannot be necessary to salvation to do so; but that it is more than probable, that he never intended any such thing, and that the bishops of Rome have, to the great prejudice of Christendom, made a great schism, and usurped a title which is not their due, and challenged an authority to which they have no right, and have set themselves above others, who are their equals, and impose an

[s] Canus Loc. lib. vi. c. 8. p. 235. Ed. Salmant. 1563.

[t] Concor. Cath. lib. ii. c. 34. Sent. lib. iv. dist. 24. q. 2. art. 5. De Eccl. Dogm. lib. iv. c. 3.

[u] Luke, xxii. 25. Matt. xx. 26, 27.

article of faith of their own contriving, and have made great preparation for antichrist, if he ever get into that seat, or be in already; and made it necessary for all of the Roman communion to believe and obey him in all things.

SECTION XI.

THERE are very many more things, in which the church of Rome hath greatly turned aside from the doctrines of Scripture, and the practice of the catholic apostolic and primitive church.

Such are these: The invocation of saints; the insufficiency of Scriptures without traditions of faith unto salvation; their absolving sinners before they have, by canonical penances and the fruits of a good life, testified their repentance; their giving leave to simple presbyters, by papal dispensation, to give confirmation or chrism; selling masses for nine-pences; circumgestation of the eucharist to be adored; the dangerous doctrine of the necessity of the priest's intention in collating sacraments, by which device they have put into the power of the priest to damn whom he please of his own parish; their affirming that the mass is a proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead; private masses, or the Lord's supper without communion, which is against the doctrine and practice of the ancient church of Rome itself, and contrary to the tradition of the apostles, if we may believe pope Calixtus, and is also forbidden under pain of excommunication: "Peractâ consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus; sic autem etiam apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia:" "When the consecration is finished, let all communicate that will not be thrust from the bounds of the church; for so the apostles appointed, and so the holy church of Rome does hold[a]." The same also was decreed by pope Soter, and pope Martin, in a council of

[a] De Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Peracta. Vide etiam ib. cap. In Cœna, et cap. Si quis.

bishops, and most severely enjoined by the canons of the apostles, as they are cited in the canon law [b].

There are divers others; but we suppose that those innovations, which we have already noted, may be sufficient to verify this charge of novelty. But we have done this the rather, because the Roman emissaries endeavour to prevail amongst the ignorant and prejudicate, by boasting of antiquity, and calling their religion 'the old religion and the catholic;' so ensnaring others by ignorant words, in which is no truth; their religion, as it is distinguished from the religion of the church of England and Ireland, being neither the old nor the catholic religion; but new and superinduced by arts known to all, who, with sincerity and diligence, have looked into their pretences.

But they have taught every priest, that can scarce understand his breviary (of which, in Ireland, there are but too many), and very many of the people, to ask, 'Where our religion was before Luther?' Whereas it appears by the premises, that it is much more easy for us to show our religion before Luther, than for them to show theirs before Trent. And although they can show too much practice of their religion in the degenerate ages of the church, yet we can, and do, clearly show ours in the purest and first ages; and can and do draw lines, pointing to the times and places where the several rooms and stories of their Babel was builded, and where polished, and where furnished.

But when the keepers of the field slept, and the enemy had sown tares, and they had choked the wheat, and almost destroyed it: when the world complained of the infinite errors in the church, and being oppressed by a violent power, durst not complain so much as they had cause: and when they, who had cause to complain, were yet themselves very much abused, and did not complain in all they might: when divers excellent persons, St. Bernard, Clemangis Grosthead, Marsilius, Ocham, Alvarus, Abbot Joachim, Petrarch, Savanarola, Valla, Erasmus, Mantuan, Gerson, Ferus, Gas-

[b] De Consecr. dist. 1. c. Omnes fidel. Omnes fideles qui conveniunt in solennitatibus sacris ad ecclesiam, et Scripturas apostolorum et evangelia audiant. Qui autem non perseverant in oratione usque dum missa peragatur, nec sanctam communionem percipiunt, velut inquietudinis ecclesiæ commoventes convenit communione privari.

sander, Andreas Fricius, Modrevius, Hermannus Coloniensis, Wasseburgius, archdeacon of Verdun, Paulus Langius[c], Staphilus, Telesphorus de Cusentiâ, Doctor Talheymius, Francis Zabarel, the cardinal, and pope Adrian himself, with many others; not to reckon Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, the Bohemians, and the poor men of Lions, whom they called heretics, and confuted with fire and sword; when almost all Christian princes did complain heavily of the corrupt state of the church and of religion, and no remedy could be had, but the very intended remedy made things much worse; then it was that divers Christian kingdoms, and particularly the church of England,

> Tum primùm senio docilis, tua sæcula, Roma,
> Erubuit; pudet exacti jam temporis, edit
> Præteritos fœdis cum religionibus annos.

being ashamed of the errors, superstitions, heresies, and impieties, which had deturpated the face of the church,—looked in the glass of Scripture and pure antiquity; and washed away those stains with which time, and inadvertency, and tyranny, had besmeared her; and being thus cleansed and washed, is accused by the Roman parties of novelty, and condemned because she refuses to run into the same excess of riot and deordination. But we cannot deserve blame, who return to our ancient and first health, by preferring a new cure before an old sore.

CHAPTER II.

The Church of Rome, as it is at this day disordered, teaches Doctrines, and uses Practices, which are in themselves, or in their true and immediate Consequences, direct Impieties, and give warranty to a wicked Life.

SECTION I.

Our first instance is in their doctrines of repentance. For the Roman doctors teach, that unless it be by accident, or in respect of some other obligation, a sinner is not bound

[c] In Chronic. Ziliacensi.

presently to repent of his sin, as soon as he hath committed it. Some time or other he must do it; and if he take care so to order his affairs, that it be not wholly omitted, but so that it be done one time or other, he is not by the precept or grace of repentance bound to do more. Scotus and his scholars, say, that a sinner is bound, viz. by the precept of the church, to repent on holydays, especially the great ones. But this is thought too severe by Soto and Medina, who teach that a sinner is bound to repent but once a year, that is against Easter. These doctors indeed do differ concerning the church's sense; which according to the best of them is bad enough; full as bad as it is stated in the charge: but they agree in the worst part of it, viz. that though the church calls upon sinners to repent on holydays, or at Easter; yet that by the law of God they are not tied to so much, but only to repent in the danger or article of death. This is the express doctrine taught in the church of Rome, by their famous Navar[a]; and for this he quotes pope Adrian and cardinal Cajetan, and finally affirms it to be 'the sense of all men.' The same also is taught by Reginaldus[b], saying, "It is true, and the opinion of all men, that the time, in which a sinner is bound, by the commandment of God, to be contrite for his sins, is the imminent article of natural or violent death."

We shall not need to aggravate this sad story, by the addition of other words to the same purpose in a worse degree; such as those words are of the same Reginaldus, "There is no precept, that a sinner should not persevere in enmity against God. There is no negative precept forbidding such a perseverance." These are the words of this man, but the proper and necessary consequent of that which they all teach, and to which they must consent. For since it is certain that he who hath sinned against God and his conscience, is in a state of enmity, we say he, therefore, ought to repent presently, because until he hath repented, he is an enemy to God. This they confess, but they suppose it concludes nothing; for though they consider and confess this, yet they still saying, a man is not bound by God's law to repent till the article of death, do consequently say the

[a] Enchir. c. 1. n. 31. [b] Praxis fori pœnit. lib. v. c. 2. sect. 4. n. 23.

same thing that Reginaldus does, and that a man is not bound to come out of that state of enmity, till he be in those circumstances, that it is very probable, if he does not then come out, he must stay in it for ever. It is something worse than this yet, that Sotus[c] says, "Even to resolve to defer our repentance, and to refuse to repent for a certain time, is but a venial sin." But Medina[d] says, "It is none at all."

If it be replied to this, that though God hath left it to a sinner's liberty to repent when he please, yet the church hath been more severe than God hath been, and ties a sinner to repent, by collateral positive laws; for having bound every one to confess at Easter, consequently she hath tied every one to repent at Easter, and so, by her laws, can lie in the sin without interruption but twelve months, or thereabouts; yet there is a secret in this, which nevertheless themselves have been pleased to discover for the ease of tender consciences, viz. that the church ordains but the means, the exterior solemnity of it, and is satisfied, if you obey her laws by a ritual repentance; but the holiness, and the inward repentance, which in charity we should have supposed to have been designed by the law of festivals, "Non est id quod per præceptum de observatione festorum injungitur," "is not that which is enjoined by the church in her law of holydays[e]." So that still sinners are left to the liberty which they say God gave; even to satisfy ourselves with all the remaining pleasures of that sin for a little while, even during our short mortal life: only we must be sure to repent at last.

We shall not trouble ourselves or our charges with confuting this impious doctrine. For it is evident, that this gives countenance and too much warranty to a wicked life; and that of itself is confutation enough, and is that which we intended to represent.

If it be answered, that this is not the doctrine of their church, but of some private doctors; we must tell you, that, if by the doctrine of their church they mean such things only as are decreed in their councils; it is to be considered,

[c] Dom. à Soto in quart. sent. dict. 17. qu. 2. art. 6. concl. secunda.

[d] Non est dubium quin id licitum sit. Cod. de Pœniten. Tract. 1. q. 6. p. 18. edit. Salmantic. A. D. 1553.

[e] Reginald. lib. de Contrit. c. 2. cap. 4.

that but few things are determined in their councils; nothing but articles of belief, and the practice of sacraments relating to public order: and if they will not be reproved for any thing, but what we prove to be false in the articles of their simple belief, they take a liberty to say and do what they list, and to corrupt all the world by their rules of conscience. But, that this is also the doctrine of their church, their own men tell us, "Communis omnium," &c. "It is the doctrine of all their men;" so they affirm, as we have cited their own words above: who also undertake to tell us, in what sense their church intends to tie sinners to actual repentance; not as soon as the sin is committed, but at certain seasons, and then also to no more of it, than the external and ritual part. So that if their church be injuriously charged, themselves have done it, not we. And besides all this, it is hard to suppose or expect that the innumerable cases of conscience, which a whole trade of lawyers and divines amongst them have made, can be entered into the records of councils and public decrees. In these cases we are to consider, who teaches them? Their gravest doctors, in the face of the sun, under the intuition of authority in the public conduct of souls, in their allowed sermons, in their books licensed by a curious and inquisitive authority, not passing from them, but by warranty from several hands intrusted to examine them, "Ne fides ecclesiæ aliquid detrimenti patiatur;" "that nothing be published but what is consonant to the catholic faith." And, therefore, these things cannot be esteemed private opinions[f]: especially, since if they be, yet they are the private opinions of them all, and that we understand to be public enough: and are so their doctrine, as what the scribes and pharisees taught their disciples, though the whole church of the Jews had not passed it into a law. So, this is the Roman doctrine; though not the Roman law. Which difference, we desire may be observed in many of the following instances, that this objection may no more interpose for an escape or excuse. But we shall have occasion again to speak to it, upon new particulars.

But this, though it be infinitely intolerable, yet it is but

[f] Non illico ut homo se reum sentit culpæ, pœnitentiæ lege pœnitere constringitur. Hæc profecto conclusio more et usu ecclesiæ satis videtur constabilita. Dom. à Soto. in quart. sent. dist. 17. qu. 2. art. 6.

the beginning of sorrows. For the guides of souls in the Roman church have prevaricated in all the parts of repentance, most sadly and dangerously.

The next things, therefore, that we shall remark, are their doctrines concerning contrition: which when it is genuine and true, that is, a true cordial sorrow for having sinned against God; a sorrow proceeding from the love of God, and conversion to him, and ending in a dereliction of all our sins, and a walking in all righteousness; both the psalms and the prophets, the Old Testament and the New, the Greek fathers and the Latin, have allowed as sufficient for the pardon of our sins through faith in Jesus Christ (as our writers have often proved in their sermons, and books of conscience): yet first, the church of Rome does not allow it to be of any value, unless it be joined with a desire to confess their sins to a priest; saying, that a man by contrition is not reconciled to God, without their sacramental or ritual penance, actual or votive; and this is decreed by the council of Trent[g]: which thing, besides that it is against Scripture, and the promises of the Gospel, and not only 'teaches for doctrine the commandments of men,' but evacuates the goodness of God by their traditions, and weakness, and discourages the best repentance, and prefers repentance towards men, before that which the Scripture calls repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

But the malignity of this doctrine, and its influence it hath on an evil life, appears in the other corresponding part of this doctrine. For as contrition without their ritual and sacramental confession will not reconcile us to God: so attrition (as they call it) or contrition imperfect, proceeding from fear of damnation, together with their sacrament, will reconcile the sinner. Contrition without it, will not: attrition with it, will reconcile us; and, therefore, by this doctrine, which is expressly decreed at Trent, there is no necessity of contrition at all; and attrition is as good to all intents and purposes of pardon: and a little repentance will prevail as well as the greatest, the imperfect as well as the perfect. So Gulielmus de Rubeo[h] explains this doctrine: "He that

[g] Sessio 4. c. 4.

[h] In 4. sent. dist. 18. q. 1.

confesses his sins, grieving but a little, obtains remission of his sins by the sacrament of penance ministered to him by the priest absolving him." So that although God working contrition in a penitent, hath not done his work for him without the priest's absolution, in desire at least; yet, if the priest do his part, he hath done the work for the penitent, though God had not wrought that excellent grace of contrition in the penitent.

But for the contrition itself: it is a good word, but of no severity or affrightment by the Roman doctrine: "One contrition, one act of it, though but little and remiss, can blot out any, even the greatest sin" (always understanding it in the sense of the church, that is, in the sacrament of penance), saith cardinal Tolet[i].—"A certain little inward grief of mind is required to the perfection of repentance," said Maldonat[k]. And to "contrition a grief in general for all our sins is sufficient; but it is not necessary to grieve for any one sin more than another," said Franciscus de Victoriâ[l]. "The greatest sin and the smallest, as to this, are all alike; and as for the contrition itself, any intention or degree whatsoever, in any instant whatsoever, is sufficient to obtain mercy and remission," said the same author.

Now let this be added to the former, and the sequel is this, That if a man live a wicked life for threescore or fourscore years together,—yet if in the article of his death, sooner than which God hath not commanded him to repent, he be a little sorrowful for his sins, then resolving for the present, that he will do so no more; and though this sorrow hath in it no love of God, but only a fear of hell, and a hope that God will pardon him; this, if the priest absolves him, does instantly pass him into a state of salvation. The priest with two fingers and a thumb can do his work for him; only he must be greatly disposed and prepared to receive it: greatly, we say, according to the sense of the Roman church; for he must be attrite, or it were better if he were contrite; one act of grief, a little one, and that not for one sin more

[i] Lib. iii. instruc. sacerdot. c. 5. n. 4.

[k] Sum. qu. 16. art. 6.

[l] De contrit. num. 107. Quæcunque intensio contra peccatum, in quocunque instanti, sufficiet ad consequendam misericordiam et remissionem. Ibid. n. 106.

than another, and this at the end of a long wicked life, at the time of our death, will make all sure.

Upon these terms, it is a wonder that all wicked men in the world are not papists; where they may live so merrily, and die so securely, and are out of all danger, unless peradventure they die very suddenly, which because so very few do, the venture is esteemed nothing, and it is a thousand to one on the sinner's side.

SECTION II.

We know it will be said, that the Roman church enjoins confession, and imposes penances; and these are a great restraint to sinners, and gather up what was scattered before. The reply is easy, but it is very sad. For,

1. For confession; it is true, to them who are not used to it, as it is at the first time, and for that once, it is as troublesome, as for a bashful man to speak orations in public: but where it is so perpetual and universal, and done by companies and crowds at a solemn set time; and when it may be done to any one besides the parish-priest, to a friar that begs, or to a monk in his dorter, done in the ear, it may be to a person that hath done worse, and therefore hath no awe upon me, but what his order imprints, and his viciousness takes off; when we see women and boys, princes and prelates do the same every day: and as oftentimes they are never the better, so they are not at all ashamed; but men look upon it as a certain cure, like pulling off a man's clothes to go and wash in a river; and make it, by use and habit, by confidence and custom, to be no certain pain: and the women blush or smile, weep or are unmoved, as it happens under their veil, and the men under the boldness of their sex: When we see that men and women confess to-day, and sin to-morrow, and are not affrighted from their sin the more for it; because they know the worst of it, and have felt it often, and believe to be eased by it: certain it is, that a little reason, and a little observation, will suffice to conclude, that this practice of confession hath in it no affrightment, not so much as the horror of the sin itself hath to the conscience. For they who commit sins confidently, will, with less regret

(it may be) confess it in this manner, where it is the fashion for every one to do it. And when all the world observes how loosely the Italians, Spaniards, and French do live in their carnivals; giving to themselves all liberty and license to do the vilest things at that time, not only because they are for a while to take their leave of them, but because they are, as they suppose, to be so soon eased of their crimes by confession, and the circular and never-failing hand of the priest; they will have no reason to admire the severity of confession: which as it was most certainly intended as a deletory of sin, and might do its first intention, if it were equally managed; so now certainly it gives confidence to many men to sin, and to most men to neglect the greater and more effective parts of essential repentance.

We shall not need to observe how confession is made a minister of state, a picklock of secrets, a spy upon families, a searcher of inclinations, a betraying to temptations; for this is wholly by the fault of the men, and not of the doctrine; but even the doctrine itself, as it is handled in the church of Rome, is so far from bringing peace to the troubled consciences, that it intromits more scruples and cases than it can resolve.

For besides that itself is a question, and they have made it dangerous by pretending that it is by Divine right and institution,—for so some of the schoolmen[a] teach; and the canonists say the contrary[b], and that it is only of human and positive constitution,—and by this difference in so great a point, have made the whole economy of their repentance, which relies upon the supposed necessity of confession, to fail, or to shake vehemently, and, at the best, to be a foundation too uncertain to build the hopes of salvation on it: besides all this, we say, their rules and doctrines of confession enjoin some things that are of themselves dangerous, and

[a] Vide Biel, lib. iv. dist. 17. q. 1. et Scotum, ibid. et Bonavent. ib. a. 2.

[b] Melius dicitur, eam institutam fuisse à quadam universali Ecclesiæ traditione, quàm ex Novi vel Veteris Testamenti autoritate; et tamen negatur hæc traditio esse universalis. Confessio non est necessaria apud Græcos, quia non emanavit ad illos traditionaliter. De Pœnit. dist. 5. in principio Gloss. ibid. Vide etiam Panormitan. super Decreta, lib. v. cap. Quod autem, cap. Omnis utriusque sexus, sect. 18. extrav. Gloss. Maldonatus fatetur omnes canonistas in hanc sententiam consensisse. Disp. de Sacram. tom. ii. c. 2. de Confess. Orig.

lead into temptation. An instance of this is in that which is decreed in the canons of Trent[c], that the penitent must not only confess every mortal sin, which, after diligent inquiry, he remembers, but even his very sinful thoughts in particular, and his secret desires, and every circumstance which changes the kind of the sin, or, as some add, does notably increase it: and how can this be safely done, and who is sufficient for these things, and who can tell his circumstances without tempting his confessor, or betraying, and defaming another person, (which is forbidden) and in what cases it may be done, or in what cases omitted? and whether the confession be valid upon infinite other considerations, and whether it be to be repeated in whole or in part, and how often? and how much? these things are so uncertain, casual, and contingent, and so many cases are multiplied upon every one of these, and these so disputed and argued by their greatest doctors, by Thomas, and Scotus, and all the schoolmen, and by the casuists; that, as Beatus Rhenanus complains, it was truly observed by the famous John Geilerius, that according to their cases, inquiries, and conclusions, it is impossible for any man to make a right confession. So that although the shame of private confession be very tolerable and easy, yet the cases and scruples which they have introduced, are neither easy nor tolerable: and though, as it is now used, there be but little in it to restrain from sin; yet there is very much danger of increasing it, and of receiving no benefit by it.

SECTION III.

But then for penances and satisfactions (of which they boast so much, as being so great restraints to sin), these as they are publicly handled, are nothing but words and ineffective sounds. For first, if we consider what the penances themselves are which are enjoined; they are reduced from the ancient canonical penances to private and arbitrary, from years to hours, from great severity to gentleness and flattery, from fasting and public shame, to the saying over their beads, from cordial to ritual, from smart to money, from

[c] Sess. 4. can. 7.

heartiness and earnestness to pageantry and theatrical images of penance; and if some confessors happen to be severe, there are ways enough to be eased. For if the penitent may have leave to go to a gentler, or he may get commutations, or he may get somebody else[a] to do them for him: and if his penances be ever so great, or ever so little, yet it may be all supplied by indulgences; of which there are such stores in the Lateran at Rome, that, as Pope Boniface said, "No man is able to number them;" yet he confirmed them all.

In the church of 'Santa Maria de Popolo' there are for every day in the year two thousand and eight hundred years of pardon, besides fourteen thousand and fourteen carentanes; which, in one year, amount to more than a million: all which are confirmed by the popes Paschal I. Boniface VIII, and Gregory IX. In the church of St. Vitus and Modestus, there are, for every day in the year, seven thousand years, and seven thousand carentanes of pardon, and a pardon of a third part of all our sins besides; and the price of all this is but praying before an altar in that church. At the sepulchre of Christ in Venice there is hung up a prayer of St. Austin, with an indulgence of fourscore and two thousand years, granted by Boniface VIII., (who was of all the popes the most bountiful of the church's treasure) and Benedict XI., to him that shall say it, and that for every day 'toties quoties.' The Divine pardon of Sica gave a plenary indulgence to every one, that being confessed and communicated should pray there in the Franciscan church of 'Santa Maria degli Angeli,' and this pardon is 'ab omni pœna et culpa.' The English of that we easily understand; but the meaning of it we do not, because they will not own that these indulgences do profit any one, whose guilt is not taken away by the sacrament of penance. But this is not the only snare in which they have inextricably entangled themselves: but be it as they please for this; whatever it was, it was since enlarged by Sixtus IV. and Sixtus V. to all that shall wear St. Francis's cord. The saying a few Pater nosters and Aves, before a privileged altar, can, in innumerable places, procure vast portions of this treasure; and to deliver a soul out of

[a] Eman. Sa, V. Satisfact. n. 10. Tolet. lib. iii. Instr. Sacerd. c. 11. n. 6.

purgatory, whom they list, is promised to many upon easy terms, even to the saying of their beads over with an appendant medal of the pope's benediction. Every priest, at his third or fourth mass, is as sure as may be, to deliver the souls of his parents: and a thousand more such stories as these are to be seen every where and every day.

Once for all: there was a book printed at Paris by Francis Regnault, A. D. 1536. May 25, called 'The hours of the most blessed Virgin Mary, according to the use of Sarum;' in which, for the saying three short prayers written in Rome, in a place called 'The chapel of the holy cross of seven Romans,' are promised fourscore and ten thousand years of pardon of deadly sin[b]. Now the meaning of these things is very plain. By these devices they serve themselves, and they do not serve God. They serve themselves by this doctrine: for they teach that what penance is ordinarily imposed, does not take away all the punishment that is due; for they do not impose what was anciently enjoined by the penitential canons, but some little thing instead of it: and, it may be, that what was anciently enjoined by the penitential canons, is not so much as God will exact: for they suppose that he will forgive nothing but the guilt and the eternity; but he will exact all that can be demanded on this side hell, even to the last farthing he must be paid some way or other, even when the guilt is taken away:—but therefore to prevent any failing that way, they have given indulgences enough to take off what was due by the old canons, and what may be due by the severity of God; and if these fail, they may have recourse to the priests, and they by their masses can make supply: so that their disciples are well, and the want of ancient discipline shall do them no hurt.

But then how little they serve God's end by treating the sinner so gently, will be very evident. For by this means they have found out out a way, that though, it may be, God will be more severe than the old penitential canons; and although these canons were much more severe than men are now willing to suffer; yet neither for the one or the other shall they need to be troubled: they have found out an easier way to go to heaven than so. And indulgence will be no

[b] Tolet. Instr. Sacerd. lib. iii. c. 11. n. 6.

great charge, but that will take off all the supernumerary penances, which ought to have been imposed by the ancient discipline of the church, and may be required by God. A little alms to a priest, a small oblation to a church, a pilgrimage to the image or relics of a saint, wearing St. Francis's cord, saying over the beads with an hallowed appendant, entering into a fraternity, praying at a privileged altar, leaving a legacy for a soul-mass, visiting a privileged cemetery, and twenty other devices, will secure the sinner from suffering punishment here or hereafter, more than his friendly priest is pleased gently to impose.

To them that ask, What should any one need to get so many hundred thousand years of pardon, as are ready to be had upon very easy terms,—They answer, as before; that whereas it may be for perjury, the ancient canons enjoined penance all their life[c]; that will be supposed to be twenty or forty years, or suppose an hundred; if the man have been perjured a thousand times, and committed adultery so often, and done innumerable other sins, for every one of which he deserves to suffer forty years' penance; and how much more in the account of God he deserves, he knows not: if he be attrite, and confessed so, that the guilt is taken away, yet, as much temporal punishment remains due as is not paid here: but the indulgences of the church will take off so much as it comes to, even of all that would be suffered in purgatory. Now it is true, that purgatory (at least as is believed) cannot last a hundred thousand years; but yet God may, by the acerbity of the flames in twenty years, equal the canonical penances of twenty thousand years: to prevent which, these indulgences of so many thousand years are devised. A wise and thrifty invention sure, and well contrived, and rightly applotted according to every man's need, and according as they suspect his bill shall amount to.

This strange invention, as strange as it is, will be owned; for this is the account of it, which we find in Bellarmine[d]: and although Gerson and Dominicus à Soto are ashamed of these prodigious indulgences, and suppose that the pope's questuaries did procure them, yet it must not be so dis-

[c] Vide Concil. Tribur. c. 54. Burchard. lib. xix. Tertul. lib. de Pœnitentia.

[d] De Indulgent. lib. i. c. 9. sect. Existit autem.

owned; truth is truth, and it is notoriously so; and therefore a reason must be found out for it; and this it is, which we have accounted. But the use we make of it, is this; that since they have declared, that when sins are pardoned so easily, yet the punishment remains so very great, and that so much must be suffered here or in purgatory; it is strange that they should not only in effect pretend to show more mercy than God does, or the primitive church did; but that they should directly lay aside the primitive discipline, and while they declaim against their adversaries, for saying they are not necessary, yet at the same time they should devise tricks to take them quite away; so that neither penance shall much smart here, nor purgatory (which is a device to make men be Mulatas, as the Spaniard calls half-Christians, a device to make a man go to heaven and to hell too) shall not torment them hereafter. However it be, yet things are so ordered, that the noise of penances need not trouble the greatest criminal, unless he be so unfortunate as to live in no country and near no church, and without priest or friend, or money, or notice of any thing that is so loudly talked of in Christendom. If he be, he hath no help but one; he must live a holy and a severe life, which is the only great calamity which they are commanded to suffer in the church of England: but if he be not, the case is plain, he may by these doctrines take his ease.

SECTION IV.

We doubt not, but they who understand the proper sequel of these things, will not wonder that the church of Rome should have a numerous company of proselytes, made up of such as the beginnings of David's army were. But that we may undeceive them also, for to their souls we intend charity and relief by this address, we have thought fit to add one consideration more, and that is, that it is not fit that they should trust to this, or any thing of this; not only because there is no foundation of truth in these new devices, but because even the Roman doctors themselves, when they are pinched with an objection, let their hold go, and to

escape, do, in remarkable measures, destroy their own new building.

The case is this: to them who say, that if there were truth in these pretensions, then all these, and the many millions of indulgences more, and the many other ways of releasing souls out of purgatory, the innumerable masses said every day, the power of the keys so largely employed, would, in a short time, have emptied purgatory of all her sad inhabitants, or, it may be, very few would go thither, and they that unfortunately do, cannot stay long; and consequently, besides that, this great softness and easiness of procedure would give confidence to the greatest sinners, and the hopes of purgatory would destroy the fears of hell, and the certainty of doing well enough in an imperfect life, would make men careless of the more excellent: besides these things, there will need no continuation of pensions, to pray for persons dead many years ago: to them, I say, who talk to them at this rate, they have enough to answer.

Deceive not yourselves, there are more things to be reckoned for than so. For, when you have deserved great punishments for great sins, and the guilt is taken off by absolution, and (you suppose) the punishment by indulgences or the satisfaction of others; it may be so, and it may be not so.

For 1. It is according as your indulgence is. Suppose it for forty years, or it may be an hundred, or a thousand (and that is a great matter); yet, peradventure, according to the old penitential rate you have deserved the penance of forty thousand years; or at least, you may have done so by the more severe account of God: if the penance of forty years be taken off by your indulgence, it does as much of the work as was promised or intended; but you can feel little ease, if still there remains due the penance of threescore thousand years. No man can tell the difference, when what remains shall be so great as to surmount all the evils of this life; and the abatement may be accounted by pen and ink, but will signify little in the perception: it is like the casting out of a devil out of a miserable demoniack, when there still remains fifty more, as bad as he that went away; the man will hardly find how much he is advanced in his cure.

But 2. You have, with much labour and some charge,

purchased to yourself so many quadragenes, or lents of pardon; that is, you have bought off the penances of so many times forty days. It is well; but were you well advised? it may be, your quadragenes are not carenes, that is, are not a quitting the severest penances of fasting so long in bread and water: for there is great difference in the manner of keeping a penitential lent, and it may be, you have purchased but some lighter thing; and then, if your demerit arise to so many carenes, and you purchased but mere quadragenes, without a minute, and table of particulars, you may stay longer in purgatory than you expected.

3. But, therefore, your best way is to get a plenary indulgence[a]; and that may be had on reasonable terms: but take heed you do not think yourself secure, for a plenary indulgence does not do all that it may be you require; for there is an indulgence more full, and another most full, and it is not agreed upon among the doctors, whether a plenary indulgence is to be extended beyond the taking off those penances, which were actually enjoined by the confessor, or how far they go further. And they that read Turrecremata, Navar, Cordubensis, Fabius, Incarnatus, Petrus de Soto, Armilla Aurea, Aquinas, Tolet, Cajetan, in their several accounts of indulgences, will soon perceive, that all this is but a handful of smoke; when you hold it, you hold it not.

4. But further yet; all indulgences are granted upon some inducement, and are not 'ex mero motu,' or 'acts of mere grace' without cause; and if the cause be not reasonable, they are invalid: and whether the cause be sufficient, will be very hard to judge. And if there be for the indulgence, yet, if there be not a reasonable cause for the quantity of the indulgence, you cannot tell how much you get: and the preachers of indulgences ought not to declare how valid they are 'assertive,' that is, by any confidence; but 'opinative,' or 'recitative,' they can only tell what is said, or what is their own opinion.

5. When this difficulty is passed over, yet, it may be, the person is not capable of them; for, if he be not in the state of grace, all is nothing; and if he be, yet if he does not perform the condition of the indulgence actually, his mere endeavour, or good desire, is nothing. And when the

[a] Vide Joan. de Turrecremata in comment. dist. 1. de Pœnitent.

conditions are actually done, it must be inquired, whether, in the time of doing them, you were in charity; whether you be so at least in the last day of finishing them: it is good to be certain in this, lest all evaporate, and come to nothing. But yet, suppose this too, though the work you are to do as the condition of the indulgence, be done so well that you lose not all the indulgence; yet, for every degree of imperfection in that work, you will lose a part of the indulgence, and then it will be hard to tell, whether you get half so much as you propounded to yourself. But here Pope Adrian troubles the whole affair again [b]: for, if the indulgence be only given according to the worthiness of the work done, then that will avail of itself without any grant from the church; and then it is hugely questionable, whether the pope's authority be of any use in this whole matter.

6. But there is yet a greater heap of dangers and uncertainties; for you must be sure of the authority of him, that gives the indulgence, and in this there are many doubtful questions; but when they are over, yet it is worth inquiry (for some doctors are fearful in this point), whether the intromission of venial sins, without which no man lives, does hinder the fruit of the indulgence; for if it does, all the cost is lost.

7. When an indulgence is given, put case to abide forty days on certain conditions, whether these forty days are to be taken collectively or distributively; for, because it is confessed, that the matter of indulgence is 'res odibilis,' an hateful and 'an odious matter [c],' it is not to be understood in the sense of favour, but of greatest severity; and, therefore, it is good to know beforehand what to trust to, to inquire how the bull is penned, and what sense of law every word does bear; for it may be any good man's case. If an indulgence be granted to a place for so many days in every year, it were fit you inquire, for how many years that will last; for some doctors say, that if a definite number of years be not set down, it is intended to last but twenty years. And, therefore, it is good to be wise early.

8. But it is yet of greater consideration: if you take out a bull of indulgence, relating to the article of death, in case you recover that sickness, in which you thought you should

[b] Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. i. pag. 20. Londin. edit.
[c] Fab. Incarnat. scrutin. Sacerd. de Indulgent.

use it,—you must consider, whether you must not take out a new one for the next fit of sickness; or, will the first, which stood for nothing, keep cold, and, without any sensible error serve when you shall indeed die?

9. You must also inquire, and be rightly informed, whether an indulgence granted upon a certain festival will be valid, if the day be changed (as they were all at once by the Gregorian calendar): or, if you go into another country, where the feast is not kept the same day, as it happens in movable feasts, and on St. Bartholomew's day, and some others.

10. When your lawyers have told you their opinion of all these questions, and given it under their hands, it will concern you to inquire yet further, whether a succeeding pope have not, or cannot revoke an indulgence granted by his predecessor; for this is often done in matters of favour and privileges; and the German princes complained sadly of it; and it was complained in the council of Lyons[4], that Martin, the legate of pope Innocent VIII., revoked and dissipated all former grants: and it is an old rule, "Papa nunquam sibi ligat manus," "The pope never binds his own hands." But here some caution would do well.

11. It is worth inquiry, whether, in the year of jubilee, all other indulgences be suspended; for, though some think they are not, yet, Navar and Emanuel Sà affirm that they are; and if they chance to say true (for no man knows whether they do or do not), you may be at a loss that way. And when all this is done, yet

12. Your indulgences will be of no avail to you in reserved cases, which are very many. A great many more very fine scruples might be moved, and are so; and, therefore, when you have gotten all the security you can by these, you are not safe at all. But, therefore, be sure still to get masses to be said.

So that now the great objection is answered; you need not fear that saying masses will ever be made unnecessary by the multitude of indulgences: the priest must still be employed and entertained in 'subsidium,' since there are so many ways of making the indulgence good for nothing: and, as for the fear of emptying purgatory by the free and liberal use of the keys, it is very needless; because the pope

[4] Centum gravam. Germ. Idem facere voluit Paulus Quintus in Venetorum causa.

cannot evacuate purgatory[e], or give so many indulgences as to take out all souls from thence: and, therefore, if the popes, and the bishops, and the legates, have been already too free, it may be, there is so much in arrear, that the treasure of the church is spent, or the church is in debt for souls; or else, though the treasure be inexhaustible, yet so much of her treasure ought not to be made use of, and, therefore, it may be, that your souls shall be postponed, and must stay and take its turn God knows when. And, therefore, we cannot but commend the prudence of Cardinal Albernotius[f], who, by his last will took order for fifty thousand masses, to be said for his soul; for he was a wise man, and loved to make all as sure as he could.

But then, to apply this to the consciences of the poor people of the Roman communion. Here is a great deal of treasure of the church pretended, and a great many favours granted, and much ease promised, and the wealth of the church boasted of, and the people's money gotten; and that this may be a perpetual spring, it is clear amongst their own writers, that you are not sure of any good by all that is past, but you must get more security, or this may be nothing. But how easy were it for you now to conclude, that all this is but a mere cozenage, an art to get money? but that is but the least of the evil, it is a certain way to deceive souls. For, since there are so many thousands that trust to these things, and yet, in the confession of your own writers, there are so many fallibilities in the whole, and in every part, why will you suffer yourselves so weakly and vainly to be cozened out of your souls with promises that signify nothing, and words without virtue, and treasures that make no man rich, and indulgences that give confidence to sin, but no ease to the pains which follow?

Besides all this, it is very considerable, that this whole affair is a state of temptation; for they that have so many ways to escape, will not be so careful of the main stake, as the interest of it requires. He that hopes to be relieved by many others, will be tempted to neglect himself: there

[e] Fabius Incarnatus Scrutin. Sacerdot. de indulgent. sect. antepen. edit. Barcinon. 1628.

[f] Apud Genes. Sepulvedam in vita Egidii Albernotii Cardinal.

is a ἓν μέγα, an 'Unum necessarium,' even that "we work out our own salvation with fear and trembling." A little wisdom, and an easy observation, were enough to make all men that love themselves, wisely to abstain from such diet, which does not nourish, but fill the stomach with wind and imagination. But to return to the main inquiry.

We desire that it be considered, how dangerously good life is undermined, by the propositions collaterally taught by their great doctors, in this matter of indulgences, besides the main and direct danger and deception.

1. "Venial sins, preceding or following the work enjoined for getting indulgences, hinder not their fruit: but if they intervene in the time of doing them, then they hinder[g]." By this proposition there is infinite uncertainty concerning the value of any indulgence; for, if venial sins be daily incursions, who can say, that he is one day clean from them? And if he be not, he hath paid his price for that which profits not, and he is made to rely upon that which will not support him. But though this being taught, doth evacuate the indulgence, yet it is not taught to prevent the sin; for, before and after, if you commit venial sins, there is no great matter in it: the inconvenience is not great, and the remedy is easy; you are told of your security, as to this point beforehand.

2. Pope Adrian taught a worse matter. "He that will obtain indulgence for another, if he does perform the work enjoined, though himself be in deadly sin, yet for the other he prevails[h]:" as if a man could do more for another than he can do for himself; or, as if God would regard the prayers of a vile and a wicked person, when he intercedes for another, and at the same time, if he prays for himself, his prayer is an abomination. God first is entreated for ourselves, and when we are more excellent persons, admits us to intercede, and we shall prevail for others; but that a wicked person, who is under actual guilt, and obliged himself to suffer all punishment, can ease and take off the punishment due to others by any externally-good work done ungraciously, is a piece of new divinity without colour of reason or religion. Others in this are something less scan-

[g] Fab. Incarn. ubi supra.

[h] Apud Petrum de Soto lect. de Instit. Sacerd. de necessariis ad effectum indulg.

dalous; and affirm, that though it be not necessary, that when the indulgence is granted, the man should be in the state of grace; yet it is necessary, that at some time or other he should be; at any time (it seems) it will serve. For thus they turn divinity, and the care of souls, into mathematics and clock-work, and dispute minutes and periods with God, and are careful to tell their people how much liberty they may take, and how far they may venture, lest they should lose any thing of their sin's pleasure, which they can possibly enjoy, and yet have hopes of their being saved at last.

3. But there is worse yet. If a man willingly commits a sin in hope and expectation of a jubilee, and of the indulgences afterwards to be granted, he does not lose the indulgence, but shall receive it: which is expressly affirmed by Navar[l], and Antonius Cordubensis[k],—and Bellarmine[l], though he asks the question, denies it not. By which it is evident, that the Roman doctrines and divinity teach contrary to God's way; who is most of all angry with them that "turn his grace into wantonness," and sin "that grace may abound."

4. If any man, by reason of poverty, cannot give the prescribed alms, he cannot receive the indulgence. Now since it is sufficiently known, that in all or most of the indulgences, a clause is sure to be included, that something be offered to the church, to the altar, to a religious house[m], &c. The consequent of this will be soon seen, that indulgences are made for the rich, and the treasures of the church are to be dispensed to them that have treasures of their own; for "Habeni dabitur." But God help the poor; for them purgatory is prepared, and they must burn: for the rich it is pretended, but the smell of fire will not pass upon them.

From these premises we suppose it but too evident, that the Roman doctors prevaricate in the whole doctrine of repentance, which indeed, in Christ Jesus, is the whole economy of justification and salvation; it is the hopes and staff of all the world, the remedy of all evils past, present, and

[l] In Tract. de Jubileo natab. 34. n. 4. et 6.
[k] Qu. 37. de Indulg. prop. 3.
[l] Lib. i. de Indulg. c. 10. Sect. Altera dubitatio.
[m] Scrutin. Sacerd. ubi supra.

to come. And if our physic be poisoned, if our staff be broken, if our hopes make us ashamed, how shall we appear before Christ at his coming? But we say, that, in all the parts of it, their doctrine is infinitely dangerous.

1. Contrition is sufficient, if it be but one little act, and that in the very article of death; and before that time it is not necessary by the law of God, nay, it is indeed sufficient; but it is also insufficient,—for without confession, in act or desire, it suffices not. And though it be thus insufficiently sufficient, yet it is not necessary: for attrition is also sufficient, if a priest can be had; and then any little grief proceeding out of the fear of hell will do it, if the priest do but absolve.

2. Confession might be made of excellent use, and is so among the pious children of the church of England; but by the doctrines and practices in the church of Rome it is made, not the remedy of sins by proper energy, but the excuse, the alleviation, the confidence, the ritual, external, and sacramental remedy, and serves instead of the labours of a holy and a regular life; and yet is so entangled with innumerable, and inextricable cases of conscience, orders, human prescripts, and great and little artifices, that scruples are more increased than sins are lessened.

3. For satisfactions and penances, which, if they were rightly ordered, and made instrumental to kill the desires of sin, or to punish the criminal, or were properly the fruits of repentance, that is, parts of a holy life, good works done in charity, and the habitual permanent grace of God, were so prevailing, as they do the work of God; yet when they are taken away, not only by the declension of primitive discipline, but by new doctrines and indulgences, regular and offered commutations for money, and superstitious practices, which are sins themselves, and increase the numbers and weights of the account, there is a great way made for the destruction of souls, and the discountenancing the necessity of holy life; but nothing for the advantage of holiness, or the becoming like to God.

And now at last for a cover to this dish, we have thought fit to mind the world, and to give caution to all that mean to live godly in Christ Jesus, to what an infinite scandal and impiety this affair hath risen in the church of Rome, we mean in the instance of their "taxa cameræ, seu cancellariæ

apostolicæ," "the tax of the apostolical chamber or chancery;" a book publicly printed, and exposed to common sale; of which their own Espencæus[n] gives this account; that it is a book, in which a man may learn more wickedness, than in all the summaries of vices published in the world: and yet to them that will pay for it, there is to many given a license, to all an absolution, for the greatest and most horrid sins. There is a price set down for his absolution, that hath killed his father or his mother, brother, sister, or wife, or that hath lain with his sister or his mother. We desire all good Christians to excuse us for naming such horrid things;

Nomina sunt, ipso penè timenda sono.

But the licenses are printed in Paris in the year 1500, by Tossan Denis. Pope Innocent VIII. either was author or enlarger of these rules of this chancery-tax, and there are glosses upon them, in which the scholiast himself, who made them, affirms, that he must, for that time, conceal some things to avoid scandal. But how far this impiety proceeded, and how little regard there is in it to piety, or the good of souls, is visible by that which Augustinus de Ancona[o] teaches; "that the pope ought not to give indulgences to them, who have a desire of giving money, but cannot, as to them who actually give." And whereas it may be objected, that then poor men's souls are in a worse condition than the rich; he answers, "that as to the remission of the punishment acquired by the indulgence, in such case it is not inconvenient, that the rich should be in a better condition than the poor."—For in that manner do they imitate God who is no respecter of persons.

SECTION V.

THESE observations we conceive to be sufficient to deter every well-meaning person from running into or abiding in such temptations. Every false proposition that leads to impiety, is a stock and fountain of temptations; and these

[n] Digres. 2. ad c. 1. epist. ad Titum. [o] De Potest. Papæ, q. 3. ad 3.

which we have reckoned in the matter of repentance, having influence upon the whole life, are yet much greater, by corrupting the whole mass of wisdom and spiritual propositions.

There are indeed many others. We shall name some of them, but shall not need much to insist on them. Such as are,

1. That one man may satisfy for another[a]. It is the general doctrine of the church: the divines and lawyers consent in it, and publicly own it: the effect of which is this, that some are made rich by it, and some are careless; but "qui non solvit in ære, luat in corpore," is a canonical rule; and though it was spoken in the matter of public penances, and so relates to the exterior court, yet it is also practised and avowed in satisfactions or penances relating to the inward court of conscience, and penance sacramental; and the rich man is made negligent in his duty, and is whipped upon another man's back, and his purse only is the penitent; and, which is worst of all, here is a pretence of doing that, which is too near blasphemy but to say. For by this doctrine, it is not to be said of Christ alone, that "he was wounded for our transgressions," that he only satisfied for our sins; for in the church of Rome it is done frequently, and pretended daily, that 'by another man's stripes we are healed.'

2. They teach, that a habit of sin, is not sin, distinct from those former actions, by which the habit was contracted. The secret intention of which proposition, and the malignity of it, consist in this, that it is not necessary for a man to repent speedily; and a man is not bound by repentance to interrupt the procedure of his impiety, or to repent of his habit, but of the single acts that went before it. For as for those that come after, they are excused, if they be produced by a strong habit; and the greater the habit, the less is the sin: but then as the repentance need not, for that reason, be hasty and presently; so because it is only to be of single acts, the repentance itself need not be habitual, but it may be done in an instant; whereas to mortify a habit of sin (which is the true and proper repentance) there is required a longer time, and a procedure in the methods of a holy life. By this, and such like propositions, and careless sentences,

[a] Sà, Aphor. verb. Satisfa. num. 10. Scrutin. Sacerdot. Tract. de Indulg. sect. penult. Suarez, part. 4. in 3. disp. 38. sect. 9.

they have brought it to that pass, that they reckon a single act of contrition, at any time, to be sufficient to take away the wickedness of a long life. Now that this is the avowed doctrine of the Roman guides of souls, will sufficiently appear in the writings of their chiefest, of which no learned man can be ignorant[b]. The thing was of late openly and professedly disputed against us, and will not be denied. And that this doctrine is infinitely destructive of the necessity of a good life, cannot be doubted of, when themselves do own the proper consequents of it, even the unnecessariness of present repentance, or before the danger of death; of which we have already given accounts. But the reason why we remark it here, is that which we now mentioned, because that, by the doctrine of vicious habits, having in them no malignity or sin, but what is in the single preceding acts, there is an excuse made for millions of sins: for, if by an evil habit the sinner is not made worse, and more hated by God, and his sinful acts made not only more, but more criminal; it will follow, that the sins are very much lessened: for they being not so voluntary in their exercise and distinct emanation, are not in present so malicious; and, therefore, he that hath gotten a habit of drunkenness or swearing, sins less in every act of drunkenness, or profane oath, than he that acts them seldom, because by his habit he is more inclined, and his sins are almost natural, and less considered, less chosen, and not disputed against; but pass, by inadvertency and an untroubled consent, easily and promptly, and almost naturally, from that principle: so that by this means, and in such cases when things are come to this pass, they have gotten an imperfect warrant to sin a great deal, and a great while, without any new great inconvenience: which evil state of things ought to be infinitely avoided by all Christians that would be saved by all means; and, therefore, all such teachers, and all such doctrines, are carefully to be declined, who give so much easiness, not only to the remedies, but to the sins themselves. But of this, we hope, it may be sufficient to have given this short warning.

3. The distinction of mortal and venial sins, as it is taught

[b] Granat. in Materia de Peccatis, tract. 8. disput. 1. sect. 1. F. Knott against Chillingworth, in his Infidelity unmasked, pp. 105, 106, 107, &c.

in the church of Rome, is a great cause of wickedness, and careless conversation. For although we do, with all the ancient doctors, admit of the distinction of sins mortal and venial; yet we also teach, that in their own nature, and in the rigour of the Divine justice, every sin is damnable, and deserves God's anger, and that in the unregenerate they are so unaccounted, and that in hell the damned suffer for small and great in a common mass of torment; yet, by the Divine mercy and compassion, the smaller sins which come by surprise, or by invincible ignorance, or inadvertency, or unavoidable infirmity, shall not be imputed to those who love God, and delight not in the smallest sin, but use caution and prayers, watchfulness and remedies against them. But if any man delights in small sins, and heaps them into numbers, and, by deliberation or licentiousness, they grow numerous, or are in any sense chosen, or taken in, by contempt of Divine law, they do put us from the favour of God, and will pass into severe accounts. And though sins are greater or less by comparison to each other, yet the smallest is a burden too great for us without the allowances of the Divine mercy.

But the church of Rome teaches, that there is a whole kind of sins, which are venial in their own nature, such, which if they were all together, all in the world conjoined, could not equal one mortal sin[c], nor destroy charity, nor put us from the favour of God; such, for which no man can perish[d], "etiamsi nullum pactum esset de remissione," "though God's merciful covenant of pardon did not intervene." And whereas Christ said, "Of every idle word a man shall speak, he shall give account at the day of judgment;" and, "By your words ye shall be justified;" and, "By your words ye shall be condemned:" Bellarmine expressly affirms, "It is not intelligible, how an idle word should, in its own nature, be worthy of the eternal wrath of God, and eternal flames." —Many other desperate words are spoken by the Roman doctors in this question; which we love not to aggravate, because the main thing is acknowledged by them all.

[c] Bellarm. lib. i. de Amis. Gratiæ. c. 13. sect. Alterum est. Et de Sacram. Eucha. lib. iv. c. 19. sect. Respondeo.

[d] Cap. 14. sect. Adde postremo. De Purgator. lib. i. c. 11. sect. Probatur ultimo.

But now we appeal to the reason and consciences of all men, Whether this doctrine of sins, venial in their own nature, be not greatly destructive to a holy life? When it is plain that they give rest to men's consciences for one whole kind of sins; for such, which because they occur every day, in a very short time (if they be not interrupted by the grace of repentance) will swell to a prodigious heap. But concerning these we are bidden to be quiet; for we are told, that all the heaps of these in the world cannot put us out of God's favour. Add to this, that it being, in thousands of cases, impossible to tell, which are, and which are not venial in their own nature, and in their appendant circumstances, either the people are cozened by this doctrine into a useless confidence: and for all this talking in their schools, they must nevertheless do to venial sins, as they do to mortal, that is, mortify them, fight against them, repent speedily of them, and keep them from running into mischief; and then all their kind doctrines in this article signify no comfort or ease, but all danger and difficulty, and useless dispute; or else, if really they mean, that this easiness of opinion be made use of, then the danger is imminent, and carelessness introduced, and licentiousness in all little things is easily indulged; and men's souls are daily lessened without repair, and kept from growing towards Christian perfection, and from "destroying the whole body of sin;" and in short, 'despising little things, they perish by little and little.'

This doctrine also is worse yet in the handling. For it hath infinite influence to the disparagement of holy life, not only by the uncertain, but, as it must frequently happen, by the false determination of innumerable cases of conscience. For it is a great matter, both in the doing and the thing done, both in the caution and the repentance, whether such an action be a venial or a mortal sin. If it chance to be mortal, and your confessor says it is venial, your soul is betrayed. And it is but a chance what they say in most cases; for they call what they please venial, and they have no certain rule to answer by; which appears too sadly in their innumerable differences, which are amongst all their casuists, in saying, what is, and what is not mortal; and of this there needs no greater proof than the reading the little summaries made by their most leading guides of conscience, Navar, Cajetan,

Tolet, Emanuel Sà, and others; where one says such a thing is mortal, and two say it is venial.

And lest any man should say or think, 'This is no great matter;'—we desire that it be considered, that, in venial sins, there may be very much fantastic pleasure, and they that retain them, do believe so; for they suppose the pleasure is great enough to outweigh the intolerable pains of purgatory; and that it is more eligible to be in hell awhile, than to cross their appetites in such small things. And however it happen in this particular, yet, because the doctors differ so infinitely and irreconcileably, in saying what is, and what is not venial: whoever shall trust to their doctrine, saying, that such a sin is venial; and to their doctrine, that says, it does not exclude from God's favour, may, by these two propositions, be damned before he is aware.

We omit to insist upon their express contradicting the words of our blessed Saviour, who taught his church expressly, "that we must work in the day-time; for the night cometh, and no man worketh:" Let this be as true as it can in the matter of repentance and mortification, and working out our pardon for mortal sins; yet it is not true in venial sins, if we may believe their great St. Thomas[e], whom also Bellarmine[f] follows in it; for he affirms, that by the acts of love and patience in purgatory, venial sins are remitted; and that the acceptation of those punishments proceeding out of charity, is a virtual kind of penance. But in this particular we follow not St. Thomas nor Bellarmine, in the church of England and Ireland; for we believe in Jesus Christ, and follow him. If men give themselves liberty as long as they are alive, to commit one whole kind of sins, and hope to work it out after death by acts of charity and repentance, which they would not do in their life-time; either they must take a course to sentence the words of Christ as savouring of heresy, or else they will find themselves to have been at first deceived in their proposition, and at last in their expectation. Their faith hath failed them here, and hereafter they will be ashamed of their hope.

[e] In 4. sent. dist. 21. q. 1. art. 2.
[f] Lib. i. c. 14. de Purgator. sect. Est ergo opinio vera.

SECTION VI.

THERE is a proposition, which indeed is new, but is now the general doctrine of the leading men in the church of Rome; and it is the foundation on which their doctors of conscience rely, in their decision of all cases in which there is a doubt or question made by themselves; and that is, "That if an opinion or speculation be probable, it may in practice be safely followed:" and if it be inquired, What is sufficient to make an opinion probable? the answer is easy, "Sufficit opinio alicujus gravis doctoris, aut bonorum exemplum," "the opinion of any one grave doctor is sufficient to make a matter probable;" nay, "the example and practice of good men," that is, men who are so reputed; if they have done it, you may do so too, and be safe. This is the great rule of their cases of conscience[a].

And now we ought not to be pressed with any one saying, that such an opinion is but the private opinion of one or more of their doctors. For, although, in matters of faith, this be not sufficient to impute a doctrine to a whole church, which is but the private opinion of one or more; yet, because we are now speaking of the infinite danger of souls in that communion, and the horrid propositions by which their disciples are conducted, to the disparagement of good life,—it is sufficient to allege the public and allowed sayings of their doctors; because these sayings are their rule of living: and, because the particular rules of conscience use not to be decreed in councils, we must derive them from the places where they grow, and where they are to be found.

But besides, you will say, that this is but the private opinion of some doctors; and what then? Therefore it is not to be called the doctrine of the Roman church. True, we do not say, 'it is an article of their faith,' but 'a rule of manners:' This is not, indeed, in any public decree; but we say, that although it be not, yet neither is the contrary. And if it be but a private opinion, yet is it safe to follow it, or is it not safe? For that is the question, and therein is

[a] Emanuel Sà. Aphor. Verb. Dubium. Escobar. The. Moral. Exa. c. 3. de Conscientia probabili, &c.

the danger. If it be safe, then this is their rule, 'A private opinion of any one grave doctor may be safely followed in the questions of virtue and vice.'— But if it be not safe to follow it, and that this does not make an opinion probable, or the practice safe; Who says so? Does the Church? No. Does Dr. Cajus, or Dr. Sempronius, say so? Yes: but these are not safe to follow; for they are but private doctors: or, if it be safe to follow them, though they be no more, and the opinion no more but probable; then I may take the other side, and choose which I will, and do what I list in most cases, and yet be safe by the doctrine of the Roman casuists; which is the great line and general measure of most men's lives; and that is it which we complain of. And we have reason; for they suffer their casuists to determine all cases, severely and gently, strictly and loosely; that so they may entertain all spirits, and please all dispositions, and govern them by their own inclinations, and as they list to be governed; by what may please them, not by that which profits them; that none may go away scandalized or grieved from their penitential chairs.

But upon this account, it is a sad reckoning which can be made concerning souls in the church of Rome. Suppose one great doctor amongst them (as many of them do) shall say, 'It is lawful to kill a king whom the pope declares heretic.' By the doctrine of probability here is his warranty. And though the church do not declare that doctrine, that is, the church do not make it certain in speculation; yet it may be safely done in practice. Here is enough to give peace of conscience to him that does it; nay, if the contrary be more safe, yet if the other be but probable by reason or authority, you may do the less safe, and refuse what is more. For that also is the opinion of some grave doctors[b]: if one doctor says, it is safe to swear a thing, as of our knowledge, which we do not know, but believe it is so; it is therefore probable, that it is lawful to swear it, because a grave doctor says it, and then it is safe enough to do so.

And upon this account, who could find fault with pope Constantine IV., who, when he was accused in the Lateran

[b] Eman. Sà Aphorism. Verb. Dubium. Escobar. de Conscientia probabili.

council[c], for holding the see apostolic when he was not in orders, justified himself by the example of Sergius, bishop of Ravenna,—and Stephen, bishop of Naples? Here was 'exemplum bonorum,' honest men had done so before him, and, therefore, he was innocent. When it is observed by cardinal Campegius[d], and Albertus Pighius did teach, that a priest lives more holily and chastely that keeps a concubine, than he that hath a married wife; and then shall find in the pope's law, that a priest is not to be removed for fornication[e]; who will not, or may not, practically conclude, that since, by the law of God, marriage is holy, and yet, to some men, fornication is more lawful, and does not make a priest irregular; that, therefore, to keep a concubine is very lawful? especially since, abstracting from the consideration of a man's being in orders or not, fornication itself is probably no sin at all? For so says Durandus[f], simple fornication of itself is not a deadly sin according to the natural law, and excluding all positive law; and Martinus de Magistris says[g], To believe simple fornication to be no deadly sin, is not heretical, because the testimonies of Scripture are not express. These are grave doctors, and, therefore, the opinion is probable, and the practice safe. When the good people of the church of Rome hear it read, that pope Clement VIII., in the index of prohibited books, says[h], 'That the Bible, published in vulgar tongues, ought not to be read and retained;' no, not so much as a compend of the history of the Bible: and Bellarmine says, 'That it is not necessary to salvation, to believe that there are any Scriptures at all written;' and that cardinal Hosius saith, 'Perhaps it had been better for the church, if no Scriptures had been written:' they cannot but say, that this doctrine is probable, and think themselves safe when they walk without the light of God's word, and rely wholly upon the pope, or their priest, in what he is pleased to tell them; and that they are no way obliged to keep that com-

[c] Apud Nauclerum. Generat. xxi. 26.

[d] Dist. 82. Can. Presbyter in Glossa.

[e] 3 Qu. 7. Lata Extravag. de Bigamis. Quia circa. Communiter dicitur quod clericus pro simplici fornicatione deponi non debet, dist. 21. Maximianus. Glossa in Gratian.

[f] Sent. lib. iv. dist. 33. [g] Lib. de Temp. qu. 2. de Luxuria.

[h] Vide Dan. Tilen. de Verbo non Scripto, lib. iv. c. 8.

mandment of Christ, "Search the Scriptures." Cardinal Tolet says[l], "That if a nobleman be set upon, and may escape by going away, he is not tied to it, but may kill him, that intends to strike him with a stick[k]: that if a man be in a great passion, and so transported, that he considers not what he says; if, in that case, he does blaspheme, he does not always sin[l]: that if a man be beastly drunk, and then commit fornication, that fornication is no sin[m]; that if a man desires carnal pollution, that he may be eased of his carnal temptations, or for his health, it were no sin[n]: that it is lawful for a man to expose his bastards to the hospital, to conceal his own shame[o]." He says it out of Soto, and he from Thomas Aquinas; "That, if the times be hard, or the judge unequal, a man that cannot sell his wine at a due price, may lawfully make his measures less than is appointed, or mingle water with his wine, and sell it for pure, so he do not lie; and yet if he does, it is no mortal sin, nor obliges him to restitution."—Emanuel Sà affirms[p], "That if a man lie with his intended wife before marriage, it is no sin, or a light one; nay, 'quinetiam expedit, si multum illa differatur,' 'it is good to do so, if the benediction or publication of marriage be much deferred:'" that infants, in their cradles, may be made priests, is the common opinion of divines and canonists, saith Tolet[q]; and that in their cradles they can be made bishops, saith the archdeacon and the provost[r]; and though some say the contrary, yet the other is the more true, saith the cardinal. Vasquez saith[s], "That not only an image of God, but any creature in the world, reasonable or unreasonable, may, without danger, be worshipped together with God, as his image: that we ought to adore the relics of saints, though under the form of worms; and that it is no sin to worship a ray of light, in which the devil is invested, if a man supposes him to be Christ: and in the same manner, if he supposes it to be a piece of a saint, which is not, he shall not want the merit of his devotion. And to conclude, pope Celestine III., as Alphonsus à Castro reports himself to have

[l] Instruct. Sacerd. lib. v. c. 6. n. 15. [k] Lib. iv. c. 13. n. 4.
[l] Lib. v. c. 10. n. 3. [m] Lib. v. c. 13. n. 10.
[n] Lib. v. c. 11. n. 5. [o] Lib. viii. c. 49. n. 4.
[p] Aphor. tit. Debitum Conjugale, 6. [q] Lib. i. c. 61. [r] Ibid.
[s] De Adorat. lib. iii. disp. 1. c. 2. Ibid. c. v. sect. 33.

seen a decretal of his to that purpose, affirmed, That if one of the married couple fell into heresy, the marriage is dissolved, and that the other may marry another; and the marriage is nefarious, and they are 'irritæ nuptiæ,' 'the espousals are void[t],' if a catholic and a heretic marry together, said the fathers of the synod in Trullo. And though all of this be not owned generally, yet if a Roman catholic marries a wife, that is, or shall turn heretic, he may leave her, and part bed and board, according to the doctrine taught by the canon law itself[u], by the lawyers and divines, as appears in Covaruvius[x], Mathias Aquarius[y], Bellarmine[z].

These opinions are, indeed, very strange to us of the church of England and Ireland, but no strangers in the church of Rome; and, because they are taught by great doctors, by popes themselves, by cardinals, and the canon law respectively, do at least become very probable, and, therefore, they may be believed and practised without danger; according to the doctrine of probability. And thus the most desperate things that ever were said by any, though before the declaration of the church, they cannot become articles of faith; yet, besides that they are doctrines publicly allowed, they can also become rules of practice, and securities to the conscience of their disciples.

To this we add, that which is usual in the church of Rome, the 'praxis ecclesiæ,' 'the practice of the church.' Thus if an indulgence be granted, upon condition to visit such an altar in a distant church; the nuns that are shut up, and prisoners that cannot go abroad, if they address themselves to an altar of their own with that intention, they shall obtain the indulgence: "Id enim confirmat ecclesiæ praxis," says Fabius[a]; the practice of the church, in this case, gives first a probability in speculation, and then a certainty in practice. This instance, though it be of no concern, yet we use it as a particular, to show the principle upon which they go. But it is practicable in many things of

[t] Concil. Constantinopol. 6. can. 76.
[u] Cap. Fin. de Conver. Conjug. c. 2. de Divortiis.
[x] De Matrim. part. 2. c. 7. sect. 5. n. 4.
[y] In Sent. 4. d. 39. art. 1. concl. ult.
[z] Lib. i. de Matrim. c. 14. sect. Secundo sine consensu.
[a] Scrutin. Sacerd. de Indulg.

greatest danger and concern. If the question be, Whether it be lawful to worship the image of the cross, or of Christ, with Divine worship? First, there is a doctrine of St. Thomas for it[b], and Vasquez, and many others; therefore it is probable, and, therefore, is safe in practice; "et sic est ecclesiæ praxis," "the church also practises so," as appears in their own offices: and St. Thomas makes this use of it: "Illi exhibemus cultum latriæ, in quo ponimus spem salutis: sed in cruce Christi ponimus spem salutis. Cantat enim ecclesia, 'O crux ave, spes unica, Hoc passionis tempore, Auge piis justitiam, Reisque dona veniam.' Ergo crux Christi est adoranda adoratione latriæ." "We give Divine worship," says he, "to that in which we put our hopes of salvation; but in the cross we put our hopes of salvation; for so the church sings, (it is the practice of the church,) 'Hail, O cross, our only hope in this time of suffering; increase righteousness to the godly, and give pardon to the guilty;' therefore, the cross of Christ is to be adored with Divine adoration."

By this principle, you may embrace any opinion of their doctors safely, especially if the practice of the church do intervene, and you need not trouble yourself with any further inquiry: and if an evil custom get amongst men, that very custom shall legitimate the action, if any of their grave doctors allow it, or good men use it; and Christ is not your rule,—but the examples of them that live with you, or are in your eye and observation, that is your rule. We hope we shall not need to say any more in this affair; the pointing out this rock may be warning enough to them that would not suffer shipwreck, to decline the danger that looks so formidably.

SECTION VII.

As these evil doctrines have general influence into evil life, so there are some others, which, if they be pursued to their

[b] 3 Part. q. 25. art. 4. Vide etiam Pontif. cap. de Benedictione nova crucis, f. 163.

proper and natural issues, that is, if they be believed and practised, are enemies to the particular and specific parts of piety and religion. Thus the very prayers of the faithful are, or may be, spoiled by doctrines publicly allowed, and prevailing in the Roman church.

For, 1. They teach "That prayers themselves, 'ex opere operato,' or 'by the natural work itself,' do prevail; for it is not essential to prayer for a man to think particularly of what he says; it is not necessary to think of the things signified by the words:" so Suarez teaches[a]: "Nay, it is not necessary to the essence of prayer, that he who prays should think 'de ipsa locutione,' 'of the speaking itself.'" And, indeed, it is necessary that they should all teach so, or they cannot tolerably pretend to justify their prayers in an unknown tongue. But this is, indeed, their public doctrine: for prayers, in the mouth of the man that says them, "are like the words of a charmer; they prevail even when they are not understood," says Salmeron. Or, as Antoninus[b], "They are like a precious stone, of as much value in the hand of an unskilful man, as of a jeweller." And, therefore, attention to, or devotion in, our prayers, is not necessary: for the understanding of which, saith cardinal Tolet, when it is said, That you must say your prayers or offices attentively, reverently, and devoutly, you must know that attention or advertency to your prayers is manifold: 1. "That you attend to the words, so that you speak them not too fast, or to begin the next verse of a psalm, before he that recites with you, hath done the former verse; and this attention is necessary. But, 2. There is an attention which is by understanding the sense, and that is not necessary: for if it were, very extremely few would do their duty, when so very few do at all understand what they say. 3. There is an attention relating to the end of prayer, that is, that he that prays, considers that he is present before God, and speaks to him; and this indeed is very profitable, but it is not necessary:" No, not so much. So that by this doctrine no attention is necessary, but to attend that the words be all said, and said right. But even this "attention is not necessary that it

[a] De Orat. lib. v. c. 4.

[b] Sum. part. 3. tit. 23. Vide etiam Jacobum de Graffis de Orat. lib. ii. Instruct. Sacerd. c. 13. n. 5. et 6.

should be actual, but it suffices to be virtual, that is, that he who says his office, intend to do so, and do not change his mind, although he does not attend: and he who does not change his mind, that is, unless observing himself not to attend, he still turn his mind to other things, he attends:" meaning, he attends sufficiently, and as much as is necessary; though indeed, speaking naturally and truly, he does not attend. If any man in the church of England and Ireland had published such doctrine as this, he should quickly and deservedly have felt the severity of the ecclesiastical rod; but in Rome it goes for good catholic doctrine.

Now although upon this account, devotion is (it may be) good; and it is good to attend to the words of our prayer, and the sense of them; yet, that it is not necessary, is evidently consequent to this. But it is also expressly affirmed by the same hand[c], there ought to be devotion, that our mind be inflamed with the love of God, though if this be wanting, without contempt, it is no deadly sin. "Ecclesiæ satis fit per opus externum, nec aliud jubet," saith Reginaldus[d]: "If ye do the outward work, the church is satisfied, neither does she command any thing else."— Good doctrine this! And it is an excellent church, that commands nothing to him that prays, but to say so many words.

Well! But after all this, if devotion be necessary or not, if it be present or not, if the mind wander or wander not, if you mind what you pray or mind it not, there is an easy cure for all this: for pope Leo granted remission of all negligences, in their saying their offices and prayers, to them, who, after they have done, shall say this prayer: "To the holy and undivided Trinity, to the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified; to the fruitfulness of the most blessed and most glorious Virgin Mary, and to the university of all saints, be eternal praise, honour, virtue, and glory, from every creature; and to us remission of sins, for ever and ever: Amen. Blessed are the bowels of the Virgin Mary, which bore the Son of the eternal God; and blessed are the paps which suckled Christ our Lord. Pater noster. Ave Maria." This prayer, to this purpose, is set down by Navar and cardinal Tolet[e].

[c] Ibid. n. [d] Ubi supra. [e] Ubi supra, c. 13.

This is the sum of the doctrine, concerning the manner of saying the Divine offices in the church of Rome; in which greater care is taken to obey the precept of the church than the commandments of God: "For the precept of hearing mass is not, to intend the words, but to be present at the sacrifice, though the words be not so much as heard; and they that think the contrary, think so without any probable reason," saith Tolet[f]. It seems there was not so much as the authority of one grave doctor to the contrary; for if there had, the contrary opinion might have been probable; but all agree upon this doctrine, all that are considerable.

So that between the church of England and the church of Rome, the difference in this article is plainly this: They pray with their lips, we with the heart; we pray with the understanding, they with the voice; we pray, and they say prayers. We suppose that we do not please God, if our hearts be absent; they say, it is enough if their bodies be present at their greatest solemnity of prayer, though they hear nothing that is spoken, and understand as little. And which of these be the better way of serving God, may soon be determined, if we remember the complaint which God made of the Jews, "This people draweth near me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me:" but we know, that we are commanded to "ask in faith," which is seated in the understanding, and requires the concurrence of the will, and holy desires; which cannot be at all, but in the same degree in which we have a knowledge of what we ask. "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man prevails:" but what our prayers want of this, they must needs want of blessing and prosperity. And if we lose the benefit of our prayers, we lose that great instrumentality by which Christians are receptive of pardon, and strengthened in faith, and confirmed in hope, and increase in charity, and are protected by Providence, and are comforted in their sorrows, and derive help from God: "Ye ask, and have not, because ye ask amiss:" that is St. James's rule. They that pray not as they ought, shall never obtain what they fain would.

Hither is to be reduced their fond manner of prayer, consisting in vain repetitions of names, and little forms of words.

[f] Ibid. n. 6.

The Psalter of our lady is an hundred and fifty Ave Maries, and, at the end of every tenth, they drop in the Lord's prayer; and this, with the creed at the end of the fifty, makes a perfect rosary. This, indeed, is the main entertainment of the people's devotion; for which cause Mantuan called their religion,

> Religionem,——
> Quæ filo insertis numerat sua murmura baccis,

" a religion that numbers their murmurs by berries filed upon a string:" this makes up so great a part of their religion, that it may well be taken for one half of its definition. But because so few do understand what they say, but all repeat, and stick to their numbers, it is evident they think to be heard for that. For that or nothing; for, besides that, they neither do or understand: and all that we shall now say to it is, that our blessed Saviour reproved this way of devotion, in the practice and doctrines of the heathens: very like to which is that which they call the Psalter of Jesus, in which are fifteen short ejaculations, as " Have mercy on me, strengthen me, help me, comfort me," &c.; and with every one of these, the name of Jesus is to be said thirty times, that is, in all, four hundred and fifty times. Now we are ignorant how to distinguish this from *βαττολογία*, or 'vain repetition' of the Gentiles[5]; for they did just so, and Christ said, they did not do well; and that is all that we pretend to know of it. They thought to be heard the rather for so doing; and if the people of the Roman church do not think so, there is no reason why they should do so. But without any further arguing about the business, they are not ashamed to own it. For the author of the preface to the Jesus-Psalter, printed by Fowler at Antwerp, promises to the repetition of that sweet name, " Great aid against temptations, and a wonderful increase of grace."

[5] Obe, jam desine Deos, uxor, gratulando obtundere;
Nisi illos tuo ex ingenio judicas,
Ut nihil credas intelligere, nisi idem dictum est centies.
Heautontim. act. v. scen. 1. Priestley's edit. vol. i. p. 648.

SECTION VIII.

But this mischief is gone further yet: for, as Cajetan affirms, "Prayers ought to be well done; 'saltem non malè,' 'at least not ill[a].'" But, besides that what we have now remarked is so 'not well,' that it is very ill; that which follows, is directly bad, and most intolerable. For the church of Rome, in her public and allowed offices, prays to dead men and women, who are, or whom they suppose to be, beatified; and these they invocate as preservers, helpers, guardians, deliverers in their necessity; and they expressly call them "their refuge, their guard and defence, their life and health:" which is so formidable a devotion, that we, for them, and for ourselves too, if we should imitate them, are to dread the words of Scripture, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man." We are commanded to "call upon God in the time of trouble;" and it is promised, "that he will deliver us, and we shall glorify him[b]." We find no such command to call upon saints; neither do we know who are saints, excepting a very few; and in what present state they are, we cannot know, nor how our prayers can come to their knowledge; and yet if we did know all this, it cannot be endured at all, that Christians, who are commanded to call upon God, and upon none else, and to make all our prayers 'through Jesus Christ,' and never so much as warranted to make our prayers 'through saints departed,' should yet choose saints for their particular patrons, or at all rely upon them, and make prayers to them in such forms of words, which are only fit to be spoken to God; prayers which have no testimony, command, or promise, in the Word of God, and, therefore, which cannot be made in faith or prudent hope.

Neither will it be enough to say, that they only desire the saints to pray for them; for though that be of itself a matter indifferent, if we were sure they do hear us when we pray, and that we should not, by that means, secretly destroy our confidence in God, or lessen the honour of Christ, our Advocate; of which because we cannot be sure, but much rather

[a] Summa Cajetan. v. Oratio.

[b] Jerem. xvii. 5. Psal. cxv. 9. and xlvi. 3. and cxviii. 8. and l. 15. Heb. iv. 16. Matt. xi. 28. John, vi. 37.

the contrary, it is not a matter indifferent: yet besides this, in the public offices of the church of Rome, there are prayers to saints made with confidence in them, with derogation to God's glory and prerogative, with diminution to the honour of Christ, with words in sound, and, in all appearance, the same with the highest that are usually expressed in our prayers to God, and his Christ: and this is it we insist upon, and reprove, as being a direct destruction of our sole confidence in God, and too near to blasphemy, to be endured in the devotions of Christians. We make our words good by these allegations:—

1. We shall not need here to describe, out of their didactical writings, what kind of prayers, and what causes of confidence, they teach towards the blessed Virgin Mary and all saints: only we shall recite a few words of Antoninus, their great divine, and archbishop of Florence: "It is necessary that they, to whom she converts her eyes, being an advocate for them, shall be justified and saved[c]." And whereas it may be objected out of John[d], that the apostle says, "If any sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous:"—he answers,—"That Christ is not our Advocate alone, but a Judge: and since the just is scarce secure, how shall a sinner go to him, as to an Advocate? Therefore God hath provided us of an advocatess, who is gentle and sweet, in whom nothing that is sharp, is to be found." And to those words of St. Paul, "Come boldly to the throne of Grace:"—he says,—"That Mary is the throne of Christ, in whom he rested; to her, therefore, let us come with boldness, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of need;" and adds, that "Mary is called 'full of grace,' because she is the means and cause of grace, by transfusing grace to mankind;" and many other such dangerous propositions: of which who please to be further satisfied, if he can endure the horror of reading blasphemous sayings, he may find too great abundance in the 'Mariale' of Bernardine[e], which is confirmed by public authority,—Jacobus Perez de Valentia[f], and in Ferdinand Quirinus de Salazar[g], who affirms, "That the Virgin Mary, by offering up Christ to

[c] Sum. part. 4. tit. 15. [d] 1 Jo. c. ii. 1, 2.
[e] Bernardin. de Bastis, de Concept. Mariæ. 1 part. serm. 1. part. 2.
[f] In Cantic. Mar. Magnificat. [g] Comment. in Proverb. viii. 18.

God the Father, was worthy to have, after a certain manner, that the whole salvation and redemption of mankind should be ascribed to her; and that this was common to Christ and the blessed Virgin his mother, that she did offer and give the price of our redemption, truly and properly; and that she is deservedly called the redeemer, the repairer, the mediator, the author, and cause of our salvation." Many more horrid blasphemies are in his notes upon that chapter; and in his Defence of the Immaculate Conception, published with the privilege of Philip III. of Spain, and by the authority of his order. But we insist not upon their doctrines delivered by their great writers, though every wise man knows that the doctrines of their church are delivered in large and indefinite terms, and descend not to minute senses, but are left to be explicated by their writers, and are so practised and understood by the people; and, at the worst, the former doctrine of probability will make it safe enough: but we shall produce the public practice of their church.

And first, it cannot be supposed, that they intend nothing but to desire their prayers; for they rely also on their merits, and hope to get their desires, and to prevail by them also: for so it is affirmed by the Roman catechism, made by the decree of the council of Trent [h], and published by the pope's command: "The saints are, therefore, to be invocated, because they continually make prayers for the health of mankind, and God gives us many benefits by their merit and favour: and it is lawful to have recourse to the favour or grace of the saints, and to use their help; for they undertake the patronage of us." And the council of Trent [i] does not only say it is good to fly "to their prayers, but to their aid and to their help;" and that is indeed the principal and the very meaning of the other. We pray that the saints should intercede for us, "id est, ut merita eorum nobis suffragentur;" "that is, that their merits should help us," said the master of the sentences. "Atque id confirmat ecclesiæ praxis," to use their own so frequent expression in many cases.

Continet hoc templum sanctorum corpora pura,
A quibus auxilium suppleri, poscere cura.

This distich is in the church of St. Laurence, in Rome

[h] Tit. de Sanctis. [i] Sess. 9.

" This church contains the pure bodies of saints, from whom take care to require that help be supplied to you." But the practice of the church tells their secret meaning best. For besides what the common people are taught to do, as to pray to St. Gall for the health and fecundity of their geese, to St. Wendeline for their sheep, to St. Anthony for their hogs, to St. Pelagius for their oxen; and that several trades have their peculiar saints; and the physicians are patronized by Cosmas and Damian; the painters, by St. Luke; the potters, by Goarus; the huntsmen, by Eustachius; the harlots (for that also is a trade at Rome) by St. Afra and St. Mary Magdalene: they do also rely upon peculiar saints for the cure of several diseases; St. Sebastian and St. Roch have a special privilege to cure the plague; St. Petronilla the fever; St. John and St. Bennet, the abbot, to cure all poison; St. Apollonia the toothache; St. Otilia sore eyes; St. Apollinaris the French pox (for it seems he hath lately got that employment, since the discovery of the West Indies); St. Vincentius hath a special faculty in restoring stolen goods, and St. Liberius (if he please) does infallibly cure the stone, and St. Felicitas (if she be heartily called upon) will give the teeming mother a fine boy. It were strange if nothing but intercession by these saints were intended, that they cannot as well pray for other things as these; or that they have no commission to ask of these any thing else, or not so confidently; and that, if they do ask, that St. Otilia shall not as much prevail to help a fever as a cataract; or that if St. Sebastian be called upon to pray for the help of a poor female sinner, who by sad diseases pays the price of her lust, he must go to St. Apollinaris in behalf of his client.

But if any of the Roman doctors say, 'That they are not tied to defend the superstitions of the vulgar, or the abused:'—They say true, they are not indeed, but rather to reprove them, as we do, and to declare against them; and the council of Trent very goodly forbids all superstitions in this article, but yet tells us not what are superstitions, and what not; and still the world goes on in the practice of the same intolerable follies, and every nation hath a particular guardian saint, and every city, every family, and almost every house, and every devouter person almost chooses his own patron saint, whose altars they more devoutly fre-

quent, whose image they more religiously worship, to whose relics they more readily go in pilgrimage, to whose honour they say more 'Pater nosters,' whose festival they more solemnly observe; spoiling their prayers by their confidences in unknown persons, living in an unknown condition, and diminishing that affiance in God and our Lord Jesus Christ, by importune and frequent addresses to them that cannot help.

But that these are not the faults of their people only, running wilfully into such follies, but the practice of their church, and warranted and taught by their guides, appears by the public prayers[k] themselves; such as these, "O generous Mary, beauteous above all, obtain pardon for us, apply grace unto us, prepare glory for us. Hail, thou rose, thou Virgin Mary, &c. Grant to us to use true wisdom, and with the elect to enjoy grace, that we may with melody praise thee; and do thou drive our sins away: O Virgin Mary, give us joys." These, and divers others like these, are in the anthem of our lady. In the rosary of our lady this hymn is to be said;

Reparatrix et Salvatrix desperantis animæ,
Irroratrix et Largitrix spiritualis gratiæ,
Quod requiro, quod suspiro, mea sana vulnera,
Et da menti te poscenti gratiarum munera,
Ut sim castus et modestus, &c.
.....
Corde prudens, ore studens veritatem dicere,
Malum nolens, Deum volens pio semper opere.

That is, "Thou Repairer and Saviour of the despairing soul, the dew-giver and bestower of spiritual grace; heal my wounds, and give to the mind that prays to thee, the gifts of grace, that I may be chaste, modest, wise in heart, true in my sayings, hating evil, loving God in holy works:" and much more to the same purpose. There also the blessed Virgin Mary, after many glorious appellatives, is prayed to in these words, "Join me to Christ, govern me always, enlighten my heart, defend me always from the snare of the enemy, deliver us from all evil, and from the pains of hell."

[k] Ex cursu horarum beatæ Mariæ.

So that it is no wonder that pope Leo[l] the Xth calls her a goddess; and Turcelin[m] the jesuit, "Divinæ majestatis, potestatisque sociam. Huic olim cœlestium mortaliumque principatum detulit. Ad hujus arbitrium (quoad hominum tutela postulat) terras, maria, cœlum, naturamque moderatur. Hâc annuente, et per hanc, divinos thesauros, et cœlestia dona largitur;" "The companion or partner of the Divine Majesty and power. To her he long since gave the principality of all heavenly and mortal things. At her will (so far as the guardianship of men requires) he rules the earth and seas, heaven and nature: and she consenting, he gives Divine treasures and celestial gifts." Nay, in the mass books penned 1538, and used in the Polonian churches, they call the blessed Virgin Mary, "Viam ad vitam, totius mundi gubernatricem, peccatorum cum Deo reconciliatricem, fontem remissionis peccatorum, lumen luminum;" "the way to life, the governess of all the world, the reconciler of sinners with God, the fountain of remission of sins, light of light[n];" and at last salute her with an 'Ave universæ trinitatis mater,' 'Hail thou mother of the whole trinity[o].'

We do not pick out these only, as the most singular, or the worst forms; for such as these are very numerous, as is to be seen in their breviaries, missalls, Hours of our Lady, Rosary of our Lady, the Litany of our Lady, called 'Litania Mariæ,' the 'Speculum rosariorum,' the hymns of saints, portuises, and manuals. These only are the instances which amongst many others presently occur. Two things only we shall add, instead of many more that might be represented.

The first is, that in a hymn which they (from what reason or etymology we know not, neither are we concerned) call a 'sequence,' the council of Constance did invocate the blessed Virgin, in the same manner as councils did use to invocate the Holy Ghost; they call her the "Mother of grace, the remedy to the miserable, the fountain of mercy, and the light of the church:" attributes proper to God, and incommunicable;—"They sing her praises, and pray to her for graces, they sing to her with the heart, they call them-

[l] Ad Recanatenses de Lauretana imagine, apud Bembum, lib. viii. ep. 17.
[m] In epist. dedicat. histor. Lauretan. [n] Fol. 323, 324, 325.
[o] Fol. 327.—Vide epist. Andr. Dudithii quinque Eccles. episc. edit. A. D. 1590, sine loci et typographi nomine.

selves her sons, they declare her to be their health and comfort in all doubts, and call on her for light from heaven, and trust in her for the destruction of heresies, and the repression of schisms, and for the lasting confederations of peace."—

The other thing we tell of, is, that there is a psalter of our lady, of great and ancient account in the church of Rome; it hath been several times printed, at Venice, at Paris, at Leipsic; and the title is, "The Psalter of the Blessed Virgin, compiled by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, bishop of Alba, and presbyter cardinal of the holy church of Rome." But of the book itself, the account is soon made; for it is nothing but the psalms of David, an hundred and fifty in number are set down; altered indeed, to make as much of it as could be sense so reduced: in which the name of 'Lord' is left out, and that of 'Lady' put in; so that whatever David said of God and Christ, the same prayers and the same praises they say of the blessed Virgin Mary; and whether all that can be said without intolerable blasphemy, we suppose needs not much disputation.

The same things, but in a less proportion and frequency, they say to other saints.

O Maria Magdalena,
Audi vota laude plena,
Apud Christum chorum istum
Clementer concilia:
Ut fons summæ pietatis,
Qui te lavit à peccatis,
Servos suos, atque tuos
Mundet, datâ veniâ.

"O Mary Magdalen, hear our prayers, which are full of praises, and most clemently reconcile this company unto Christ: that the fountain of supreme piety, who cleansed thee from thy sins, giving pardon, may cleanse us who are his servants and thine[p]." These things are too bad already, we shall not aggravate them by any further commentary; but apply the premises.

Now, therefore, we desire it may be considered, that

[p] In Canticis quæ vocant Sequentia. Dominic. ante Ascensionem Domini.

there are as the effects of Christ's death for us, three great products, which are the rule and measure of our prayers, and our confidence; 1. Christ's merits. 2. His satisfaction. 3. His intercession. By these three we come boldly to the throne of grace, and pray to God through Jesus Christ. But if we pray to God through the saints too, and rely upon their 1. merits, 2. satisfaction, 3. and intercession; is it not plain that we make them equal with Christ, in kind, though not in degree? For it is publicly avowed and practised in the church of Rome, to rely upon the saints' intercession; and this intercession to be made valid by the merits of the saints: "We pray thee, O St. Jude, the apostle, that by thy merits thou wouldst draw me from the custom of my sins, and snatch me from the power of the devil, and advance me to the invisible powers[q];" and they say as much to others. And for their 'satisfactions,' the treasure of the church for indulgences is made up with them, and the satisfactions of Christ: so that there is nothing remaining of the honour due to Christ our Redeemer, and our confidence in him, but the same in every kind is by the church of Rome imputed to the saints: and, therefore, the very being and economy of Christianity is destroyed by these prayers; and the people are not, cannot be, good Christians in these devotions; and what hopes are laid up for them, who repent to no purpose, and pray with derogation to Christ's honour, is a matter of deepest consideration. And, therefore, we desire our charges not to be seduced by little tricks and artifices of useless and laborious distinctions, and protestations against evidence of fact, and with fear and trembling to consider, what God said by the prophet[r], "My people have done two great evils, they have forsaken me, 'fortem, vivum,' 'the strong and the living' God;" 'fontem vivum,' so some copies read it,— "'The living fountain,' and have digged for themselves cisterns," that is, little fantastic helps, "that hold no water," that give no refreshment; or as St. Paul[s] expresses it, they worship and invocate the creature παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, "besides the Creator;" so the word properly signifies, and so it is used by the apostle in other places[t]. And at least let us

[q] Vide speculum Rosarior. Sequentias; et Breviar. Rom.
[r] Jerem. ii. 13. [s] Rom. i. 25. [t] 1 Cor. iii. 11. Gal. i. 8.

remember those excellent words of St. Austin, "Tutius et jucundius loquar ad meum Jesum, quàm ad aliquem sanctorum spirituum Dei;" "I can speak safer and more pleasantly or cheerfully to my Lord Jesus, than to any of the saints and spirits of God[u]." For that we have commandment, for this we have none; for that we have example in Scriptures, for this we have none; there are many promises made to that, but to this there is none at all; and therefore we cannot in faith pray to them, or at all rely upon them for helps.

Which consideration is greatly heightened by that prostitution of devotion usual in the church of Rome, παννύχιοι, to every upstart, to every old and new saint. And although they have a story among themselves, that it is ominous for a pope to canonize a saint, and he never survives it above a twelve-month, as Pierre Mathieu observes in the instances of Clement IV. and Adrian VI.; yet this hinders not, but that they are tempted to do it frequently. But concerning the thing itself, the best we can say, is what Christ said of the Samaritans, "They worship they know not what[x]." Such are St. Fingare, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Christopher, Charles Borromæus, Ignatius Loyola, Xaverius[y], and many others of whom Cardinal Bessarion[z] complained, that many of them were such persons whose life he could not approve; and such, concerning whom they knew nothing, but from their parties, and by pretended revelations made to particular and hypochondriacal persons. It is a famous saying of St. Gregory, 'that the bodies of many persons are worshipped on earth, whose souls are tormented in hell:' and Augustinus Triumphus affirms, 'that all who are canonized by the pope, cannot be said to be in heaven.' And this matter is beyond dispute; for Prateolus tells, that Herman, the author of the heresy of the Fratricelli, was for twenty years together after his death honoured for a saint, but afterwards his body was taken up and burnt. But then since (as Ambrosius Catha-

[u] Lib. i. c. 2. de Visitatione infirmorum: ascript. St. Aug.

[x] John, iv. 22.

[y] Vide libr. de Sanctis Hibernicis nuper Latinè edit. per D. Picardum Parisiensem.

[z] Apud Bodin. in Method. Histor. lib. iv. Apud August. Triumphum de Ancona, q. 14. ad 4. et quæst. 17. ad 4. verb. Hermannus.

rinus and Vivaldus observe), if one saint be called in question, then the rest may; what will become of the devotions which are paid to such saints which have been canonized within these last five centuries? Concerning whom we can have but slender evidence that they are in heaven at all. And therefore the cardinal of Cambray, Petrus de Alliaco, wishes that so many new saints were not canonized[a]. They are indeed so many, that in the church of Rome, the holydays, which are called their 'greater doubles,' are threescore and four, besides the feasts of Christ and our lady, and the holydays which they call half-double festivals, together with the Sundays, are above one hundred and thirty. So that besides many holydays kept in particular places, there are, in the whole year, about two hundred holydays, if we may believe their own Gavantus[b]; which, besides that it is an intolerable burden to the poor labourer, who must keep so many of them, that on the rest he can scarce earn his bread, they do also turn religion into superstition, and habituate the people to idleness, and disorderly festivities, and impious celebrations of the day with unchristian merriments and licentiousness. We conclude this with those words of St. Paul, "How shall we call on him, on whom we have not believed[c]?" Christ said, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." But he never said, Ye have believed in me, believe also in my saints. No: "For there is but one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus[d]." And therefore we must come to God, not by saints, but only by Jesus Christ our Lord.

SECTION IX.

THERE is, in the church of Rome, a horrible impiety taught and practised, which, so far as it goes, must needs destroy that part of holy life which consists in the holiness of our prayers; and indeed is a conjugation of evils, of such evils, of which in the whole world a society of Christians should be least suspected; we mean the infinite superstitions and

[a] Lib. de Reform. Eccles.
[b] De Fastis Sanctor. 7. 10.
[c] Rom. x. 14.
[d] 1 Tim. ii. 5.

incantations, or charms used by their priests in their exorcising possessed persons, and conjuring of devils.

There was an ecclesiastical book called 'Ordo Baptizandi cum modo Visitandi,' printed at Venice A. D. 1575, in which there were damnable and diabolical charms, insomuch that the Spanish inquisitors in their expurgatory index, printed at Madrid, A. D. 1612, commanded "deleatur tota exorcismus[a] Luciferina, cujus initium est, Adesto, Domine, tui famuli;" "all that Luciferian exorcism be blotted out." But whoever looks into the Treasure of Exorcisms and horrible Conjurings (for that is the very title of the book printed at Colen, A. D. 1608,) shall find many as horrid things, and not censured by any inquisitors as yet, so far as we have ever read or heard. Nay, that very 'Luciferina,' or 'Devilish Exorcism,' is reprinted at Lyons, A. D. 1614, in the 'Institutio Baptizandi,' which was restored by the decree of the council of Trent: so that though it was forbidden in Spain, it was allowed in France. But as bad as that are allowed everywhere in the church of Rome: the most famous and of most public use are 'The Treasure of Exorcisms,' of which we but now made mention; 'the Roman Ritual,' 'the Manual of Exorcisms,' printed at Antwerp, A. D. 1626, with approbation of the bishop, and privilege of the archdukes; the Pastorals of several churches, especially that of Ruremonde; and especially the 'Flagellum Dæmonum,' 'The devil's whip,' by father Jerome Mengus, a friar minor; which the clergy of Orleans did use in the exorcising of Martha Brosser, A. D. 1599, the story whereof is in the epistles of Cardinal D'Ossat, and the history of the excellent Thuanus[b].

Now from these books, especially this last, we shall represent their manner of casting out devils; and then speak a word to the thing itself.

Their manner and form is this:

First[c], They are to try the devil by holy water, incense, sulphur, rue, which from thence, as we suppose, came to be called 'herb of grace,'—and especially St. John's wort, which

[a] Ne miretur lector eruditus, quod 'exorcismus' apud Inquisitores sit fœminini generis: fortasse dispensatum fuit cum bonis viris in hoc articulo. An potius factum quia bonus Angelus nunquam, mali autem Genii sæpissime sub formâ fœminina apparuere; quod notavit Trithemius.

[b] Lib. cxiii. [c] Flagellum Dæmonum, docum. 3.

therefore they call 'devil's flight;' with which if they cannot cast the devil out, yet they may do good to the patient; for so Pope Alexander I.[d] promised and commanded the priests to use it for sanctifying and pacifying the people, and driving away the snares of the devil: and to this, it were well if the exorcist would rail upon, mock and jeer the devil; for he cannot endure a witty and a sharp taunt, and loves jeering and railing no more than he loves holy water; and this was well tried of old against an empuse, that met Apollonius Tyanæus at Mount Caucasus, against whom he railed, and exhorted his company to do so[e].

Next to this, the exorcist may ask the devil some questions; What is his name? How many of them there are? For what cause, and at what time he entered? and, for his own learning, By what person he can be cast out? and by what saint adjured? Who are his particular enemies in heaven? and who in hell? By what words he can be most afflicted? for the devils are such fools that they cannot keep their own counsel, nor choose but tell, and when they do, they always tell true: He may also ask him by what covenant, or what charm he came there, and by what he is to be released? Then he may call Lucifer to help him, and to torment that spirit (for so 'they cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils'); and certainly Lucifer dares not but obey him. Next to this, the exorcist is cunningly to get out of the devil, the confession of some article of faith, for the edification of the standers-by (whom he may by this means convince of the truth of transubstantiation, the reality of purgatory, or the value of indulgences), and command him to knock his head three times against the ground, in adoration of the Holy Trinity. But let him take heed what relics he apply to the devil; for, if the relics be counterfeit, the devil will be too hard for him. However, let the exorcising priest be sure to bless his pottage, his meat, his ointment, his herbs; and then also he may use some schedule, or little rolls of paper, containing in them holy words; but he must be sure to be exercised and skilful in all things that belong to the conjuring of the devil: these are the preparatory documents, which when he hath observed, then let him fall to his prayers.

[d] Vide Raimon. Lullium. lib. ii. de quinta essentia.

[e] Philost. de vita Apollonii.

Now for the prayers, they also are publicly described in the offices before cited; and are as followeth:—

The priest ties his stole about the neck of the possessed with three knots, and says, "O ye abominable rebels against God, I conjure you spirits, and adjure you, I call, I constrain, I call out, I contend and contest, wherever you are in this man, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost [then he makes three +], by the most powerful name of God, Eli, the strong and admirable, I exorcise you, and adjure you, and command you, by the power I have, that you incontinently hear the words of my conjuring, and perceive yourselves overcome, and command you not to depart without license, and so I bind you with this stole of jucundity; in the name of the Father +, Son +, and Holy Ghost +, Amen." Then he makes two and thirty crosses more, and calls over one and thirty names of God in false Hebrew, and base Greek, and some Latin, signifying the same names; and the two and thirtieth is by the sign of the cross, praying God to deliver them from their enemies. Then follow more prayers, and more adjurations, and more conjurations (for they are greatly different you must know) and aspersions of holy water, and showings of the cross, and signings with it. Then they adjure the devil (in case the names of God will not do it) by St. Mary, and St. Anne, by St. Michael, and St. Gabriel, by Raphael, and all angels and archangels, by the patriarchs, and by the prophets, and by his own infirmity, by the apostles, and by the martyrs; and then after all this, if the devil will not come out, he must tarry there still, till the next exorcism; in which the exorcist must rail at the devil, and say over again the names of God, and then ask him questions, and read over the sequences of the Gospels; and after that tell him, that he hath power over him, for he can transubstantiate bread into Christ's body; and then conjure him again, and call him 'damned devil, unclean spirit,' and as bad as he can call him; and so pray to God to cast him out of the man's mouth and nose, lips and teeth, jaws and cheeks, eyes and forehead, eye-brows and eye-lids, his feet, and his members, his marrow and his bones, and must reckon every part of his body: to which purpose, we suppose it would be well if the exorcist were well skilled in Laurentius, or Bauhinus's anatomy. And if he will not go out yet,

there is no help but he must choose, till the third exorcism: in which, besides many prayers and conjurations in other words to the same purpose, the exorcist must speak *louder*, [especially if it be a deaf devil, for then indeed it is the more necessary], and tell the devil his own, and threaten him terribly, and conjure him again, and say over to him about some twenty or thirty names or titles of Christ, and forbid the devil to go any whither, but to the centre of the world, and must damn him eternally to the sulphurous flames of hell, and to be tormented worse than Lucifer himself for his daring to resist so many great names; and if he will not now obey, let him take fire and brimstone, and make a fume, whether the possessed will or no, until the devil tell you all his mind in what you ask him: [the liver of Tobias's fish were a rare thing here, but that is not to be had for love or money]: And after this, he conjures him again, by some of the names of God, and by the merits, and all the good things which can be spoken or thought of the most blessed Virgin, and by all her names and titles, which he must reckon, one and forty in number, together with her epithets, making so many, and by these he must cast him headlong into hell.

But if the devil be stubborn, for some of them are very disobedient, there is a fourth, and a fifth, and a sixth exorcism: and then he conjures the earth, the water, and the fire to make them of his party, and commands them not to harbour such villanous spirits, and commands hell to hear him, and obey his word, and conjures all the spirits in hell to take that spirit to themselves, (for, it may be, they will understand their duty better than that stubborn devil, that is broke loose from thence). But if this chance to fail, there is yet left a remedy that will do it: he must make the picture of the devil, and write his name over the head of it, and conjure the fire to burn it most horribly and hastily [and if the picture be upon wood or paper, it is ten to one that may be done]: After all this stir, Sprinkle more holy water, and take sulphur, galbanum, assafœtida, aristolochia, rue, St. John's-wort; all which being distinctly blessed, the exorcist must hold the devil's picture over the fire, and adjure the devil to hear him; and then he must not spare him, but tell him all his faults, and give him all his names, and anathematize him, and curse not only him, but Lucifer too, and

Beelzebub, and Satan, and Astaroth, and Behemot, and Beherit, and all together [for indeed there is not one good natured devil amongst them all]; and then pray once more, and so throw the devil's picture into the fire, and then insult in a long form of crowing over him, which is there set down.

And now after all, if he will not go out, there is a seventh exorcism for him with new ceremonies. He must show him the consecrated host in the Pix, pointing at it with his finger, and then conjure him again, and rail at him once more; to which purpose, there is a very fine form taken out of Prierius, and set down in the 'Flagellum Dæmonum;' and then let the exorcist pronounce sentence against the devil, and give him his oath, and then a commandment to go out of the several parts of his body, always taking care that at no hand he remain in the upper parts; and then is the devils cue to come out, if he have a mind to it (for that must be always supposed); and then follow the thanksgivings.

This is the manner of their devotion, described for the use of their exorcists; in which is such a heap of folly, madness, superstition, blasphemy, and ridiculous guises, and playings with the devil, that if any man amongst us should use such things, he would be in danger of being tried at the next assizes for a witch, or a conjurer: however, certain it is, whatever the devil loses by pretending to obey the exorcist, he gains more by this horrible debauchery of Christianity. There needs no confutation of it, the impiety is visible and tangible; and it is sufficient to have told the story.

Only this we say, as to the thing itself:

The casting out of devils is a miraculous power, and given at first for the confirmation of Christian faith, as the gift of tongues and healing were; and therefore we have reason to believe, that because it is not an ordinary power, the ordinary exorcisms cast out no more devils than extreme unction cures sicknesses. We do not envy to any one, any grace of God, but wish it were more modestly pretended, unless it could be more evidently proved. Origen[f] condemned this whole procedure of conjuring devils long since: "Quæret aliquis, si convenit vel dæmones adjurare? Qui

[f] Tract. 35. in Matt.

aspicit Jesum imperantem dæmonibus, sed etiam potestatem dantem discipulis super omnia dæmonia, et ut infirmitates sanarent, dicet, non est secundum potestatem datam à Salvatore adjurare dæmonia; Judaicum enim est:" "If any one asks, whether it be fit to adjure devils? He that beholds Jesus commanding over devils, and also giving power to his disciples over all unclean spirits, and to heal diseases, will say, that to adjure devils is not according to the power given by our blessed Saviour; for it is a Jewish trick:" and St. Chrysostom[g] spake soberly and truly, "We poor wretches cannot drive away the flies, much less devils."

But then as to the manner of their conjurations and exorcisms; this we say, If these things come from God, let them show their warranty, and their books of precedents: if they come not from God, they are like the enchantments of Balaam, the old heathens, and the modern magicians, that their original is soon discovered.

But yet from what principle it comes, that they have made exorcists an ecclesiastical order, with special words and instruments of collation; and that the words of ordination giving them power only over possessed Christians, catechumens or baptized, should by them be extended and exercised upon all infants, as if they were all possessed by the devil; and not only so, but to bewitched cattle, to mice and locusts, to milk and lettuce, to houses and tempests; as if their charms were Prophylactic, as well as Therapeutic; and could keep, as well as drive the devil out, and prevent storms like the old χαλαζοφύλακες, of whom Seneca[h] makes mention: of these things we cannot guess at any probable principle, except they have derived them from the Jewish Cabala, or the exorcisms, which it is said Solomon used, when he had consented to idolatry.

But these things are so unlike the wisdom and simplicity, the purity and spirituality of Christian devotion; are so perfectly of their own devising, and wild imagination; are so full of dirty superstitions, and ignorant fancies, that there are not in the world many things, whose sufferance and practice can more destroy the beauty of holiness, or reproach a church, or society of Christians.

[g] In illa verba, [Qui credit in me, majora faciet.]
[h] Ques. Nat. lib. iv. c. 6. Ruhkopf. vol. v. p. 254.

SECTION X.

To put our trust and confidence in God only, and to use ministeries of his own appointment and sanctification, is so essential a duty owing by us to God, that whoever trusts in any thing but God, is a breaker of the first commandment; and he that invents instrumental supports of his own head, and puts a subordinate ministerial confidence in them, usurps the rights of God, and does not pursue the interests of true religion, whose very essence and formality is to glorify God in all his attributes, and to do good to man, and to advance the honour and kingdom of Christ. Now how greatly the church of Rome prevaricates in this great soul of religion, appears by too evident and notorious demonstration: for she hath invented sacramentals of her own, without a Divine warrant, Δεῖ γὰρ, περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, μηδὲν τὸ τυχὸν ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν, said St. Cyril[a], "Concerning the holy and Divine mysteries of faith or religion, we ought to do nothing by chance, or of our own heads, nothing without the authority of the Divine Scriptures:" but the church of Rome does otherwise; invents things of her own, and imputes spiritual effects to these sacramentals; and promises not only temporal blessings, and immunities, and benedictions, but the collation or increment of spiritual graces, and remission of venial sins, and alleviation of pains due to mortal sins, to them who shall use these sacramentals: which because God did not institute, and did not sanctify, they use them without faith, and rely upon them without a promise, and make themselves the fountains of these graces, and produce confidences, whose last resort is not upon God, who neither was the author, nor is an approver of them.

Of this nature[b] are holy water, the paschal wax, oil, palm-boughs, holy bread (not eucharistical), Agnus Dei's, medals, swords, bells, and roses hallowed upon the Sunday called 'Lætare Jerusalem;' such as Pope Pius II. sent to James II. of Scotland, and Sixtus Quintus to the Prince of

[a] Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 4.

[b] Bellarm. de cultu Sanct. lib. iii. c. 7. sect. Secunda propositio, et sect. Secund. ad deletionem.

Parma: concerning which, their doctrine is this, that the blood of Christ is by these applied unto us, that they do not only signify, but produce spiritual effects, that they blot out venial sins, that they drive away devils, that they cure diseases, and that though these things do not operate infallibly, as do the sacraments, and that God hath made no express covenant concerning them, yet by the devotion of them that use them, and the prayers of the church, they do prevail.

Now though it be easy to say, and it is notoriously true in theology, that the prayers of the church can never prevail, but according to the grace which God hath promised; and either can only procure a blessing upon natural things, in order to their natural effects; or else an extraordinary supernatural effect, by virtue of a Divine promise; and that these things are pretended to work beyond their natural force, and yet God hath not promised to them a supernatural blessing, as themselves confess; yet besides the falseness of the doctrine, on which these superstitions do rely, it is also as evident, that these instrumentalities produce an affiance and confidence in the creature, and estrange men's hearts from the true religion and trust in God, while they think themselves blessed in their own inventions, and in digging to themselves cisterns of their own, and leaving the fountain of blessing and eternal life.

To this purpose the Roman priests abuse the people with romantic stories out of the Dialogues of St. Gregory, and Venerable Bede; making them believe, that St. Fortunatus cured a man's broken thigh with holy water, and that St. Malachias, the bishop of Down and Connor, cured a madman with the same medicine; and that St. Hilarion cured many sick persons with holy bread and oil (which indeed is the most likely of them all, as being good food, and good medicine); and although not so much as a chicken is now-a-days cured of the pip by holy water, yet upon all occasions they use it, and the common people throw it upon children's cradles, and sick cows' horns, and upon them that are blasted; and if they recover by any means, it is imputed to the holy water: and so the simplicity of Christian religion, the glory of our dependence on God, the wise order and economy of blessings in the Gospel, the sacredness and

mysteriousness of sacraments and Divine institutions, are disordered and dishonoured: the bishops and priests inventing both the word and the element, institute a kind of sacrament, in great derogation to the supreme prerogative of Christ; and men are taught to go in ways which superstition hath invented, and interest does support.

But there is yet one great instance more of this irreligion. Upon the sacraments themselves they are taught to rely, with so little of moral and virtuous dispositions, that the efficacy of one is made to lessen the necessity of the other; and the sacraments are taught to be so effectual by an inherent virtue, that they are not so much made the instruments of virtue, as the suppletory; not so much to increase, as to make amends for the want of grace: on which we shall not now insist, because it is sufficiently remarked in our reproof of the Roman doctrines, in the matter of repentance.

SECTION XI.

After all this, if their doctrines, as they are explicated by their practice, and the commentaries of their greatest doctors, do make their disciples guilty of idolatry, there is not any thing greater to deter men from them, than that danger to their souls which is imminent over them, upon that account.

Their worshipping of images we have already reproved, upon the account of its novelty and innovation in Christian religion. But that it is against good life, a direct breach of the second commandment, an act of idolatry, as much as the heathens themselves were guilty of, in relation to the second commandment, is but too evident by the doctrines of their own leaders.

For if to give Divine honour to a creature be idolatry, then the doctors of the church of Rome teach their people to commit idolatry: for they affirm, that the same worship which is given to the prototype or principal, the same is to be given to the image of it. As we worship the holy Trinity, and Christ, so we may worship the images of the Trinity, and of Christ; that is, with 'Latria,' or 'Divine

honour.' This is the constant sentence of the divines; "The image is to be worshipped with the same honour and worship, with which we worship those whose image it is," said Azorius, their great master of casuistical theology. And this is the doctrine of their great St. Thomas[a], of Alexander of Ales, Bonaventure, Albertus, Richardus, Capreolus, Cajetan, Coster, Valentia, Vasquez, the Jesuits of Cologne, Triers, and Mentz, approving Coster's opinion.

Neither can this be eluded by saying, that though the same worship be given to the image of Christ, as to Christ himself, yet it is not done in the same way; for it is terminatively to Christ or God, but relatively to the image, that is, to the image for God's or Christ's sake. For this is that we complain of, that they give the same worship to an image, which is due to God; for what cause soever it be done, it matters not, save only that the excuse makes it, in some sense, the worse for the apology. For, to do a thing which God hath forbidden, and to say it is done for God's sake, is to say, that for his sake we displease him; for his sake we give that to a creature, which is God's own propriety. But besides this, we affirm, and it is of itself evident, that whoever, Christian or heathen, worships the image of any thing, cannot possibly worship that image terminatively, for the very being of an image is relative; and, therefore, if the man understands but common sense, he must suppose and intend that worship to be relative, and a heathen could not worship an image with any other worship; and the second commandment, forbidding to worship the "likeness of any thing in heaven or earth," does only forbid that thing which is in heaven to be worshipped by an image, that is, it forbids only a relative worship: for it is a contradiction to say, this is the image of God, and yet this is God; and, therefore, it must be also a contradiction, to worship an image with Divine worship terminatively; for then it must be, that the image of a thing is that thing whose image it is. And, therefore, these doctors teach the same thing, which they condemn in the heathens.

But they go yet a little further: the image of the cross they worship with Divine honour; and, therefore, although

[a] Instit. moral. par. 1. lib. ix. c. 6.

this Divine worship is but relative, yet consequently, the cross itself is worshipped terminatively by Divine adoration. For the image of the cross hath it relatively, and for the cross's sake; therefore the cross itself is the proper and full object of the Divine adoration. Now that they do and teach this, we charge upon them by undeniable records: for in the very 'Pontifical,' published by the authority of pope Clement the VIIIth, these words are found, "The legate's cross must be on the right hand, because latria, or Divine honour, is due to it[b]." And if Divine honour relative be due to the legate's cross, which is but the image of Christ's cross, then this Divine worship is terminated on Christ's cross, which is certainly but a mere creature. To this purpose are the words of Almain, "The images of the Trinity, and of the cross, are to be adored with the worship of latria;" that is, 'Divine.' Now if the image of the cross be the intermedial, then the cross itself, whose image that is, must be the last object of this Divine worship; and if this be not idolatry, it can never be told, what is the notion of the word. But this passes also into other real effects: and well may the cross itself be worshipped by Divine worship, when the church places her hopes of salvation on the cross; for so she does, says Aquinas, and makes one the argument of the other, and proves that the church places her hopes of salvation on the cross, that is, on the instrument of Christ's passion, by a hymn which she uses in her offices; but this thing we have remarked above, upon another occasion. Now although things are brought to a very ill state, when Christians are so probably and apparently charged with idolatry, and that the excuses are too fine to be understood by them that need them; yet no excuse can acquit these things, when the most that is, or can be said, is this, that although that which is God's due, is given to a creature; yet it is given with some difference of intention, and metaphysical abstraction, and separation; especially, since, if there can be idolatry in the worshipping of an image, it is certain, that a relative Divine worship is this idolatry; for no man that worships an image

[b] Edit. Roman. p. 672.

(in that consideration or formality) can make the image the last object: either, therefore, the heathens were not idolaters in the worshipping of an image, or else these men are. The heathens did indeed infinitely more violate the first commandment; but against the second, precisely and separately from the first, the transgression is alike.

The same also is the case in their worshipping the consecrated bread and wine: of which how far they will be excused before God, by their ignorant pretensions and suppositions, we know not; but they hope to save themselves harmless by saying, that they believe the bread to be their Saviour, and that if they did not believe so, they would not do so. We believe that they say true; but we are afraid that this will no more excuse them, than it will excuse those who worship the sun and moon, and the queen of heaven, whom they would not worship, if they did not believe them to have divinity in them: and it may be observed, that they are very fond of that persuasion, by which they are led into this worship. The error might be some excuse, if it were probable, or if there were much temptation to it: but when they choose this persuasion, and have nothing for it but a tropical expression of Scripture, which rather than not believe in the natural, useless, and impossible sense, they will defy all their own reason, and four of the five operations of their soul, seeing, smelling, tasting, and feeling,— and contradict the plain doctrine of the ancient church, before they can consent to believe this error, that bread is changed into God, and the priest can make his maker: we have too much cause to fear, that the error is too gross to admit an excuse; and it is hard to suppose it invincible and involuntary, because it is so hard, and so untempting, and so unnatural to admit the error. We do desire that God may find an excuse for it, and that they would not. But this we are most sure of, that they might, if they pleased, find many excuses, or rather just causes, for not giving Divine honour to the consecrated elements; because there are so many contingencies in the whole conduct of this affair, and we are so uncertain of the priest's intention, and we can never be made certain, that there is not in the whole order of causes any invalidity in the consecration; and it is so impos-

sible that any man should be sure that 'here,' and 'now,' and 'this' bread is transubstantiated, and is really the natural body of Christ; that it were fit to omit the giving God's due to that which they do not know to be any thing but a piece of bread, and it cannot consist with holiness, and our duty to God, certainly to give Divine worship to that thing, which though their doctrine were true, they cannot know certainly to have a Divine Being[c].

SECTION XII.

And now we shall plainly represent to our charges, how this whole matter stands. The case is this, the religion of a Christian consists in faith and hope, repentance and charity, Divine worship and celebration of the sacraments, and finally in keeping the commandments of God. Now in all these, both in doctrines and practices, the church of Rome does dangerously err, and teaches men so to do.

They do injury to faith, by creating new articles, and enjoining them as of necessity to salvation. They spoil their hope, by placing it upon creatures, and devices of their own. They greatly sin against charity, by damning all that are not of their opinion, in things false or uncertain, right or wrong. They break in pieces the salutary doctrine of repentance, making it to be consistent with a wicked life, and little or no amendment. They worship they know not what, and pray to them that hear them not, and trust on that which helps them not. And as for the commandments, they leave one of them out of their catechisms and manuals; and while they contend earnestly against some opponents for the possibility of keeping them all, they do not insist upon the necessity of keeping any in the course of

[c] Nemini potest per fidem constare se recepisse vel minimum sacramentum. Estque hoc ita certum ex fide, ac clarum est nos vivere. Nulla est via, qua, citra revelationem, nosse possumus intentionem ministrantis, vel evidenter, vel certò ex fide. Andreas Vega, lib. ix. de justific. c. 17.—

Non potest quis esse certus, certitudine fidei, se percipere verum sacramentum: cum sacramentum sine intentione ministri non conficiatur, et intentionem alterius nemo videre potest. Bellar. lib. iii. c. 8. sect. Dicent.

their lives, till the danger or article of their death. And concerning the sacraments, they have egregiously prevaricated in two points. For not to mention their reckoning of seven sacraments, which we only reckon to be an unnecessary, and unscholastical error; they take the one half of the principal away from the laity; and they institute little sacraments of their own; they invent rites, and annex spiritual graces to them, what they please themselves, of their own head, without a Divine warrant or institution: and, at last persuade their people to that which can never be excused, at least, from material idolatry.

If these things can consist with the duty of Christians, not only to eat what they worship, but to adore those things with Divine worship, which are not God; to reconcile a wicked life with certain hopes and expectations of heaven at last, and to place these hopes upon other things than God, and to damn all the world that are not Christians at this rate: then we have lost the true measures of Christianity; and the doctrine and discipline of Christ is not a natural and rational religion: not a religion that makes men holy, but a confederacy under the conduct of a sect, and it must rest in forms and ceremonies, and devices of man's invention. And although we do not doubt, but that the goodness of God does so prevail over all the follies and malice of mankind, that there are, in the Roman communion, many very good Christians; yet they are not such, as they are papists, but by something that is higher, and before that, something that is of an abstract or more sublime consideration. And though the good people amongst them are what they are by the grace and goodness of God, yet by all or any of these opinions they are not so: but the very best suffer diminution, and allay by these things; and very many more are wholly subverted and destroyed.

CHAPTER III.

The Church of Rome teaches Doctrines, which in many Things are destructive of Christian Society in general, and of Monarchy in special: both which, the Religion of the Church of England and Ireland does, by her Doctrines, greatly and christianly support.

SECTION I.

THAT in the church of Rome, it is publicly taught by their greatest doctors, that it is lawful to lie, or deceive the question of the magistrate, to conceal their name, and to tell a false one, to elude all examinations, and make them insignificant and toothless, cannot be doubted by any man that knows how the English priests have behaved themselves in the times of queen Elizabeth, king James, and the blessed martyr king Charles I. Emonerius wrote in defence of it; and father Barnes, who wrote a book against lying and equivocating, was suspected for a heretic, and smarted severely under their hands.

"To him that asks you again for what you have paid him already, you may safely say, You never had any thing of him, meaning so as to owe it him now:" it is the doctrine of Emanuel Sà and Sanchez;—which we understand to be a great lie, and a great sin, it being at the best a deceiving of the law, that you be not deceived by your creditor; that is, a doing evil to prevent one; a sin, to prevent the losing of your money.

If a man asks his wife if she be an adulteress, though she be, yet she may say, 'she is not,' if in her mind secretly she say, "not with a purpose to tell you:" so cardinal Tolet teaches[a]. And if a man swears he will take such a one to his wife, being compelled to swear; he may secretly mean, 'if hereafter she do please me.' And if a man swears to a thief that he will give him twenty crowns, he may secretly say, 'If I please to do so;' and then he is not bound. And of this doctrine Vasquez[b] brags, as of a rare, though new

[a] Instruct. Sacerd. lib. iv. c. 21. c. 22.
[b] In 3 tom. 4. qu. 93. art. 5. dub. 13.

invention, saying, it is gathered out of St. Austin, and Thomas Aquinas, who only found out the way of saying nothing in such cases and questions, asked by judges; but this invention was drawn out by assiduous disputations. He that promises to say an Ave Mary, and swears he will, or vows to do it, yet sins not mortally, though he does not do it, said the great Navàr[c], and others whom he follows. There is yet a further degree of this iniquity; not only in words, but in real actions, it is lawful to deceive or rob your brother, when to do so is necessary for the preservation of your fame: for no man is bound to restore stolen goods, that is, to cease from doing injury, with the peril of his credit. So Navar, and cardinal Cajetan and Tolet[d] teaches; who adds also, "Hoc multi dicunt, quorum sententiam potest quis tutâ conscientiâ sequi:" "Many say the same thing; whose doctrine any man may follow with a safe conscience." Nay, "to save a man's credit, an honest man, that is ashamed to beg, may steal what is necessary for him," says Diana.

Now, by these doctrines[e], a man is taught how to be an honest thief, and to keep what he is bound to restore; and by these we may not only deceive our brother, but the law,—and not only the law, but God also, even with an oath, if the matter be but small: it never makes God angry with you, or puts you out of the state of grace. But if the matter be great, yet to prevent a great trouble to yourself, you may conceal a truth, by saying that which is false, according to the general doctrine of the late casuists. So that a man is bound to keep truth and honesty, when it is for his turn, but not "if it be to his own hindrance;" and, therefore, David was not in the right, but was something too nice, in the resolution of the like case, in the fifteenth psalm. Now although that we do not affirm, that these particulars are the doctrine of the whole church of Rome, because little things, and of this nature, never are considered in their public articles of confession; yet a man may do these vile things (for so we understand them to be), and find justifications and warranty, and shall not be affrighted with the terrors of damnation, nor

[c] Manual. c. 18. n. 7. [d] Apud Tolet. instruct. Sacerd. lib. v. c. 2.
[e] In Compend. p. 335. Lugduni, A. D. 1641.

the imposition of penances: he may, for all these things, be a good catholic, though, it may be, not a very good Christian. But since these things are affirmed by so many, the opinion is probable, and the "practice safe," saith cardinal Tolet[f].

But we shall instance in things of more public concern and catholic authority. No contracts, leagues, societies, promises, vows, or oaths, are a sufficient security to him that deals with one of the church of Rome, if he shall please to make use of that liberty, which may, and many times is, and always can be granted to him. For, first, it is affirmed, and was practised by a whole council of bishops at Constance, that faith is not to be kept with heretics; and John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and Savanarola, felt the mischief of violation of public faith; and the same thing was disputed fiercely at Worms, in the case of Luther, to whom Cæsar had given a safe conduct, and very many would have had it to be broken; but Cæsar was a better Christian than the ecclesiastics and their party, and more a gentleman. But that no scrupulous princes may keep their words any more in such cases, or think themselves tied to perform their safe conducts given to heretics, there is a way found out by a new catholic doctrine; Becanus shall speak this point instead of the rest[g]: "There are two distinct tribunals, and the ecclesiastical is the superior; and, therefore, if a secular prince gives his subjects a safe conduct, he cannot extend it to the superior tribunal; nor, by any security given, hinder the bishop or the pope to exercise their jurisdiction:" and upon the account of this or the like doctrine, the pope and the other ecclesiastics did prevail at Constance, for the burning of their prisoners, to whom safe conduct had been granted. But these things are sufficiently known by the complaints of the injured persons.

But not only to heretics, but to our friends also, we may break our promises, if the pope give us leave. It is a public and an avowed doctrine, that if a man have taken an oath of a thing lawful and honest, and in his power, yet if it hinders him from doing a greater good, the pope can dispense with his oath, and take off the obligation. This is expressly affirmed by one of the most moderate of them, Canus[h], bishop of the Canaries. But beyond dispute, and even

[f] Ubi supra. [g] Theol. Schola. [h] Relect. de Pœnitent.

without a dispensation, they all of them own it, that if a man have promised to a woman to marry her, and is betrothed to her, and hath sworn it, yet if he will, before the consummation, enter into a monastery, his oath shall not bind him, his promise is null; but his second promise, that shall stand. And he that denies this, is accursed by the council of Trent[i].

Not only husbands and wives espoused may break their vows and mutual obligation, against the will of one another, but, in the church of Rome, children have leave given them to disobey their parents, so they will but turn friars; and this they might do, girls at twelve, and boys at the age of fourteen years; but the council of Trent enlarged it to sixteen: but the thing was taught and decreed by pope Clement III., and Thomas Aquinas did so[k], and then it was made lawful by him and his scholars, though it was expressly against the doctrine and laws of the preceding ages of the church, as appears in the capitulars of Charles the Great. But thus did the Pharisees teach their children to cry 'corban,' and neglect their parents; to pretend religion, in prejudice of filial piety. In this particular, Ærodius, a French lawyer, an excellently learned man, suffered sadly by the loss, and forcing of a hopeful son from him, and he complained most excellently in a book written on purpose upon this subject.

But these mischiefs are doctrinal, and accounted lawful: but in the matter of marriages and contracts, promises and vows, where a doctrine fails, it can be supplied by the pope's power; which thing is avowed and owned without a cover: for when pope Clement V.[l] condemned the order of knights templars, he disowned any justice or right in doing it, but stuck to his power: "Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen, ex plenitudine potestatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus;" that is, "Though by right we cannot do it, yet by the fulness of power we condemn the said order:" for he can dispense always, and in all things where there is cause, and in many things where there is no cause; 'sed sub majori pretio,' 'under a greater price,' said the tax of the datary,'

[i] Sess. 8. can. 5.

[k] Cap. cum virum de regularibus. Aquin. 2. 2. q. 88. art. 9. Lib. i. c. 101.

[l] Thom. Walsingham.

where the price of the several dispensations, even in 'causâ turpi,' 'in base and filthy causes,' are set down.

> Intranti summo, quasi quodam principe summo,
> Exiliunt valvæ, nihil auditur nisi 'salve[m].'

Nay, the pope can dispense 'supra jus, contra jus,' 'above law, and against law and right,' said Mosconius, in his books of 'The Majesty of the Militant Church:' for 'the pope's tribunal and God's is but one; and, therefore, every reasonable creature is subject to the pope's empire,' said the same author[n]. And what dispensations he usually gives, we are best informed by a gloss of their own upon the canon law, "Nota mirabile, quod cum eo qui peccat dispensatur; cum illo autem qui non peccat, non dispensatur:" "It is a wonderful thing that they should dispense with a fornicator, but not with him who marries after the death of his first wife." They give divorces for marriages in the fourth degree, and give dispensation to marry in the second. These things are a sufficient charge, and yet evidently so, and publicly owned.

We need not aggravate this matter, by what Panormitan[o] and others do say, that the pope hath power to dispense in all the laws of God, except the articles of faith; and how much of this they own and practise, needs no greater instance, than that which Volaterran tells of pope Innocent VIII., that he gave the Norwegians a dispensation, not only to communicate, but to consecrate in bread only.

As the pope, by his dispensations, undertakes to dissolve the ordinances of God, so also the most solemn contracts of men: of which a very great instance was given by pope Clement VII., who dispensed with the oath which Francis I. of France solemnly swore to Charles V., emperor, after the battle of Pavy, and gave him leave to be perjured. And one of the late popes dispensed with the bastard son of the conde D'Olivarez, or rather, plainly dissolved his marriage, which he made and consummated with Isabella D'Azueta, whom he had publicly married when he was but a mean

[m] Deferunt aurum et argentum, et reportant chartas. Card. Cusan.

[n] Lib. i. de Summo Pontif. vide etiam Jacobum de Terano: et Ravis. de Concile. du Trent. cap. Quia circa Extra. de Bigamis.

[o] Cap. Proposui. de Concess. Præbend. n. 20.

person, the son of Donna Marguerita Spinola, and under the name of Julian Valeasar. But when the conde had declared him son and heir, the pope dissolved the first marriage, and gave him leave, under the name of Henry Philip de Guzman, to marry D. Juana de Valesco, daughter to the constable of Castile.

And now if it be considered, what influence these doctrines have upon societies and communities of men, they will need no further reproof than a mere enumeration of the mischiefs they produce. They, by this means, legitimate adulterous and incestuous marriages, and disannul lawful contracts: they give leave to a spouse to break his or her vow and promise; and to children to disobey their parents, and, perhaps, to break their mother's heart, or to undo a family. No words can bind your faith, because you can be dispensed with; and if you swear you will not procure a dispensation, you can as well be dispensed with for that perjury as the other; and you cannot be tied so fast, but the pope can unloose you. So that there is no certainty in your promise to God, or faith to men; in judicatories to magistrates, or in contracts with merchants; in the duty of children to their parents, of husbands to their wives, or wives to their contracted husbands; of a catholic to a heretic; and last of all, a subject to his prince cannot be bound so strictly, but if the prince be not of the pope's persuasion, or be by him judged a tyrant, his subjects shall owe him no obedience. But this is of particular consideration, and reserved for Sect. III.

SECTION II.

THERE is yet another instance, by which the church of Rome does intolerable prejudice to governments and societies: in which, although the impiety is not so apparent, yet the evil is more owned, and notorious, and defended; and that is, the exemption of their clergy from the jurisdiction of secular princes and magistrates, both in their estates and persons: not only in the matters of simony, heresy, and apostasy, but in matters of theft, perjury, murder, adultery, blasphemy, and treason; in which cases they suffer not a

clergyman to be adjudged by the secular power, until the church hath quit him, and turned him over, and given them leave to proceed. This was verified in the synod of Dalmatia[a], held by the legates of pope Innocent III., and is now, in the church of Rome, pretended to be by Divine right: "For it cannot be proved, that secular princes are the lawful superiors and judges of clergymen, unless it can be proved, that the sheep are better than the shepherd, or sons than their fathers, or temporals than spirituals," said Bellarmine[b]; and, therefore, it is a shame, says he, to see princes contending with bishops for precedency or for lands. For the truth is this, whatever the custom be, the prince is the bishop's subject, not the bishop the prince's: for no man can serve two masters; the pope is their own superior, and, therefore, the secular prince cannot be. So both Bellarmine and Suarez[c] conclude this doctrine out of Scripture.

And although in this, as in all things else, when he finds it for the advantage of the church, the pope can dispense; and divers popes of Rome did give power to the commonwealth of Venice to judge clergymen, and punish them for great offences; yet how ill this was taken by Paulus V. at their hands, and what stirs he made in Christendom concerning it, the world was witness; and it is to be read in the History of the Venetian Interdict; and not without great difficulty defended by Marcus Antonius Peregrinus, M. Antonius Othelius, and Joachim Scaymus of Padua, beside the doctors of Venice.

Now if it be considered, how great a part of mankind, in the Roman communion, are clergymen, and how great a portion of the lands and revenues, in each kingdom, they have; to pretend a Divine right of exemption of their persons from secular judicatories, and their lands from secular burdens and charges of the commonwealth, is to make religion a very little friend to the public; and causes that by how much there is more of religion, by so much there is the less of piety and public duty. Princes have many times felt the evil, and are always subject to it, when so many thou-

[a] Si Imperator, dist. 96, &c. Ecclesia S. M. de Constitut. A. D. 1199.

[b] Can. 5. de Clericis, lib. i. c. 30. sect. Quarto objiciunt.—De Offic. Christiani Prin. lib. i. c. 5.

[c] Suarez. Defens. contra sect. Anglic. lib. iv. c. 17. sect. 15, 16, et 18.

sand persons are in their kingdoms, and yet subjects to a foreign power. But we need not trouble ourselves to reckon the evils consequent to this procedure; themselves have owned them, even the very worst of things, "The rebellion of a clergyman against his prince is not treason, because he is not his prince's subject:" It is expressly taught by Emanuel Sà[d]; and because the Frenchmen, in zeal to their own king, could not endure this doctrine, these words were left out of the edition of Paris, but still remain in the editions of Antwerp and Colgne. But the thing is a general rule, "That all ecclesiastical persons are free from secular jurisdiction in causes criminal, whether civil or ecclesiastical: and this rule is so general, that it admits no exception: and so certain that it cannot be denied, unless you will contradict the principles of faith:" so father Suarez[e]. And this is pretended to be allowed by councils, sacred canons, and all the doctors of laws, human and Divine; for so Bellarmine affirms[f]. Against which, since it is a matter of faith and doctrine which we now charge upon the church of Rome, as an enemy to public government, we shall think it sufficient to oppose against their pretension, the plain and easy words of St. Paul[g], "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers:" 'every soul,' that is, saith St. Chrysostom[h], whether he be a monk or an evangelist, a prophet or an apostle.

Of the like iniquity, when it is extended to its utmost commentary, which the commenters of the church of Rome put upon it, is, the Divine right of the seal of confession; which they make so sacred, to serve such ends as they have chosen, that it may not be broken up to save the lives of princes, or of the whole republic, saith Tolet[i];—No, not to save all the world, said Henriquez[k]:—Not to save an innocent, not to keep the world from burning, or religion from perversion, or all the sacraments from demolition. Indeed it is lawful, saith Bellarmine[l], if a treason be known to a priest in confession, he may, in general words, give notice to a pious and catholic prince, but not to a heretic; and that

[d] Aphor. verb. Clericus.
[e] Defens. Fid. lib. iv. c. 15. sect. 1.
[f] Apolog. p. 57.
[g] Rom. xiii. 1.
[h] In hunc locum.
[i] Instruct. Sacerd. lib. iii. c. 16.
[k] De Pœnit. lib. ii. c. 19. n. 5.
[l] Apol. cont. Reg. M. Brit. c. 13.

was acutely and prudently said by him, said father Suarez[m]. Father Binet is not so kind even to the catholic princes; for he says, that it is better that all the kings of the world should perish, than that the seal of confession should be so much as once broken; and this is the catholic doctrine, said Eudæmon Johannes[n], in his apology for Garnet; and for it he also quotes Suarez. But it is enough to have named this. How little care these men take of the lives of princes, and the public interest, which they so greatly undervalue to every trifling fancy of their own, is but too evident by these doctrines.

SECTION III.

The last thing we shall remark for the instruction and caution of our charges, is not the least. The doctrines of the church of Rome are great enemies to the dignity and security, to the powers and lives of princes: and this we shall briefly prove by setting down the doctrines themselves, and their consequent practices.

And here we observe, that not only the whole order of jesuits is a great enemy to monarchy, by subjecting the dignity of princes to the pope, by making the pope the supreme monarch of Christians; but they also teach, that it is a catholic doctrine, the doctrine of the church.

The pope hath a supreme power of disposing the temporal things of all Christians in order to a spiritual good; saith Bellarmine[a]. And Becanus discourses of this very largely in his book of the English controversy, printed by Albin at Mentz, 1612. But because this book was ordered to be purged ('una litura potest'), we shall not insist upon it; but there is as bad, which was never censured. Bellarmine says[b], that the ecclesiastic republic can command and compel the temporal, which is indeed its subject, to change the administration, and to depose princes, and to appoint others, when it cannot otherwise defend the spiritual good:

[m] Contr. Reg. Angl. lib. ix. c. 3.
[n] De Sum. Pontif. lib. v. c. 6.
[a] Cap. 13.
[b] Ibid. c. 2.

and father Suarez says the same[c]. The power of the pope extends itself to the coercion of kings with temporal punishments, and depriving them of their kingdoms, when necessity requires; nay, this power is more necessary over princes than over subjects. The same also is taught by Santarel, in his book of heresy and schism, printed at Rome, 1626.

But the mischief of this doctrine proceeds a little further. Cardinal Tolet affirms[d], and our countryman, father Bridgewater, commends the saying, "That when a prince is excommunicate, before the denunciation the subjects are not absolved from their oath of allegiance (as Cajetan says well); yet when it is denounced, they are not only absolved from their obedience, but are bound not to obey, unless the fear of death or loss of goods excuse them; which was the case of the English catholics in the time of Henry VIII." And father Creswell says[e], it is the sentence of all catholics, that subjects are bound to expel heretical princes if they have strength enough; and that to this they are tied by the commandment of God, the most strict tie of conscience, and the extreme danger of their souls.—Nay, even before the sentence is declared, though the subjects are not bound to it, yet lawfully they may deny obedience to an heretical prince, said Gregory de Valentia[f].

It were an endless labour to transcribe the horrible doctrines, which are preached in the jesuits' school, to the shaking of the regal power of such princes which are not of the Roman communion. The whole economy of it is well described by Bellarmine[g], who affirms, "That it does not belong to monks, or other ecclesiastics, to commit murders, neither do the popes use to proceed that way. But their manner is, first, fatherly to correct princes,—then, by ecclesiastical censures, to deprive them of the communion,—then to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance, and to deprive them of their kingly dignity. And what then? The execution belongs to others." This is the way of the popes, thus wisely and moderately to break kings in pieces.

We delight not to aggravate evil things. We, therefore, forbear to set down those horrid things spoken by Sa,

[c] Defens. Fid. Cath. lib. iii. c. 23. sect. 10, et sect. 18, et 20.
[d] Concer. Eccl. in Angl. fol. 336. [e] In Philopat. sect. 2. n. 160. et 162.
[f] Tom. iii. disp. 1. q. 12. punct. 2. [g] Cont. Barcl. c. 7.

Mariana, Santarel, Carolus Scribanius, and some others. It is enough that Suarez says [h], "An excommunicate king may, with impunity, be deposed or killed by any one." This is the case of kings and princes by the sentence of the chiefest Roman doctors. And if it be objected, that we are commanded 'to obey kings, not to speak evil of them, not to curse them, no, not in our heart:' there is a way found out to answer these little things. For though the apostle commands that we should be subject to higher powers, and obey kings, and all that are in authority: it is true you must, and so you may well enough for all this; for the pope can make that he who is a king shall be no king, and then you are disobliged: so Bellarmine [i]. And if, after all this, there remains any scruple of conscience, it ought to be remembered, that though even after a prince is excommunicated, it should be, of itself, a sin to depose or kill the prince; yet, if the pope commands you, it is no sin. "For if the pope should err by commanding sin, or forbidding virtues, yet the church were bound to believe that the vices were good, and the virtues evil; unless she would sin against her conscience." They are the very words of Bellarmine [k].

But they add more particulars of the same bran. 'The sons of an heretical father are made 'sui juris,' that is, free from their father's power.'—'A catholic wife is not tied to pay her duty to an heretical husband; and the servants are not bound to do service to such masters.'—These are the doctrines of their great Azorius; and as for kings, he affirms they may be deposed for heresy. But all this is only in the case of heretical princes: but what for others?

Even the Roman catholic princes are not free from this danger. All the world knows what the pope did to king Chilperick of France: he deposed him, and put Pepin in his place; and did what he could to have put Albert, king of the Romans, in the throne of Philip, surnamed the Fair. They were the popes of Rome who armed the son against the father, the emperor Henry IV., and the son fought against him, took him prisoner, shaved him, and thrust him into a monastery, where he died with grief and hunger. We will

[h] Ubi supra, lib. vi. c. 6. sect. 24.
[i] Cont. Barc. c. 7.
[k] De Ro. Pontif. lib. iv. c. 5.

not speak of the emperor Frederick, Henry the VIth, emperor; the duke of Savoy, against whom he caused Charles the Vth, and Francis the Ist, of France, to take arms; nor of Francis Dandalus, duke of Venice, whom he bound with chains, and fed him as dogs are fed, with bones and scraps under his table: our own Henry the IId, and king John, were great instances of what princes, in their case, may expect from that religion. These were the piety of the father of christendom. But these were the product of the doctrine, which Clement the Vth vented in the council of Vienna. "Omne jus regum à se pendere:" "The rights of all kings depend upon the pope."—And, therefore, even their catholic princes are at their mercy, and they would, if they durst, use them accordingly: if they do but favour heretics or schismatics, receive them or defend them; if the emperor be perjured, if he rashly break a league made with the see apostolic, if he do not keep the peace promised to the church, if he be sacrilegious, if he dissipate the goods of the church,—the pope may depose him, said Azorius. And Santarel[1] says, he may do it, in case the prince or emperor be insufficient, if he be wicked, if he be unprofitable, if he does not defend the church. This is very much, but yet there is something more[m]; this may be done, if he impose new gabels or imposts upon his subjects, without the pope's leave; for if they do not pretend to this also, why does the pope, 'in Bulla Cœnæ Dominicæ,' excommunicate all princes that do it[n]?

Now if it be inquired, by what authority the pope does these things? it is answered, that the pope hath a supreme and absolute authority; both the spiritual and the temporal power is in the pope as Christ's vicar, said Azorius and Santarel. The church hath the right of a superior lord over the rights of princes and their temporalities; and that by her jurisdiction she disposes of temporals, 'ut de suo peculio,' 'as of her own proper goods,' said our countryman Weston, rector of the college at Doway. Nay, the pope hath power, 'in omnia, per omnia, super omnia,' 'in all things, through all things, and over all things;' and the "sublimity and

[1] Instit. Moral. part 2. lib. x. c. 9.
[m] Ubi supra.
[n] See Mart. Vivaldus de bulla cœnæ Dominicæ.

immensity of the supreme bishop is so great, that no mortal man can comprehend it," said Cassenæus[o]; "No man can express it, no man can think it:" so that it is no wonder what Papirius Massonus said of pope Boniface the VIIIth, that he owned himself not only as the lord of France, but of all the world[p].

Now we are sure it will be said, that this is but the private opinion of some doctors, not the doctrine of the church of Rome. To this we reply: 1. It is not the private opinion of a few, but their public doctrine owned, and offered to be justified to all the world, as appears in the preceding testimonies. 2. It is the opinion of all the jesuit order, which is now the greatest and most glorious in the church of Rome; and the maintenance of it, is the subject matter of their new vow of obedience to the pope, that is, to advance his grandeur. 3. Not only the jesuits, but all the canonists in the church of Rome contend earnestly for these doctrines. 4. This they do upon the authority of the decretals, their own law[q], and the decrees of councils. 5. Not only the jesuits, and canonists, but others also of great note amongst them, earnestly contend for these doctrines; particularly Cassenæus, Zodericus[r], the archbishop of Florence[s], Petrus de Monte[t], St. Thomas Aquinas[u], Bozius, Baronius, and many others. 6. Themselves tell us it is a matter of faith; father Creswell[x] says, it is the sentence of all catholics; and they that do not admit these doctrines, father Rosweyd[y] calls them half Christians, grinners, barking royalists, and a new sect of catholics; and Eudæmon Johannes[z] says, that without question it is a heresy in the judgment of all catholics. Now in such things which are not in their creeds, and public confessions, from whence

[o] Sanctuar. Jur. Pontificii qu. 15. sect. 5. qu. 17. sect. 6. et qu. 27. sect. 7. Catal. plor. mundi part. 4. consid. 7, ex Zoderico.

[p] Verb. Bonif. 8.

[q] De major. et obedient. unam sanctam. In extrav. Bonif. 8. concil. Later. sub Julio 2. In extrav. Joh. 22. cap. Cum inter nonnullos. In gloss. final. edit. Paris, 1503, concil. Viennens. sub Clem. 5.

[r] Ubi supra in Cassenæo. [s] Summ. part. lib. xxii. c. 6. sect. 4.

[t] In sua Monarchia quem citat Felinus in cap. Si quando, ubi per eum extrav. de rescript.

[u] In tract. de Rege et Regno ad Regem Cypri.

[x] In Philopatr. sect. 2. n. 160, 162. [y] Lib. de fide hæret. servanda.

[z] In epist. monitor. ad Joh. Barclai.

should we know the doctrines of their church, but from their chiefest and most leading doctors; who, it is certain, would fain have all the world believe it to be the doctrine of their church? And, therefore, as it is certain that any Roman catholic may with allowance be of this opinion; so he will be esteemed the better and more zealous catholic if he be; and if it were not for fear of princes, who will not lose their crowns for their foolish doctrines, there is no peradventure but it would be declared to be 'de fide,' 'a matter of faith,' as divers of them of late do not stick to say. And of this the pope gives but too much evidence, since he will not take away the scandal, which is so greatly given to all Christian kings and republics, by a public and a just condemnation of it. Nay, it is worse than thus; for Sixtus Quintus upon the 9th of September, A. D. 1589, in an oration in a conclave of cardinals, did solemnly commend the monk, that killed Henry the IIId of France. The oration was printed at Paris, by them that had rebelled against that prince, and avouched for authentic by Boucher Decreil, and Ancelin: and though some would fain have it thought to be none of his, yet Bellarmine[a] dares not deny it, but makes for it a crude, and a cold apology.

Now concerning this article, it will not be necessary to declare the sentence of the church of England and Ireland; because it is notorious to all the world; and is expressly opposed against this Roman doctrine, by laws, articles, confessions, homilies, the oath of allegiance and supremacy, the book of Christian institution, and the many excellent writings of king James of blessed memory, of our bishops and other learned persons against Bellarmine, Parsons, Eudæmon Johannes, Creswell, and others: and nothing is more notorious than that the church of England is most dutiful, most zealous for the right of kings; and within these four and twenty years, she hath had many martyrs, and very, very many confessors in this cause.

It is true that the church of Rome does recriminate in this point, and charges some calvinists and presbyterians with doctrines which indeed they borrowed from Rome, using their arguments, making use of their expressions, and

[a] In resp. ad Apolog. pro Juram. fidelit.

pursuing their principles. But with them in this article we have nothing to do, but to reprove the men, and condemn their doctrine, as we have done all along, by private writings, and public instruments.

We conclude these our reproofs with an exhortation to our respective charges, to all that desire to be saved 'in the day of the Lord Jesus,' that they decline from these horrid doctrines, which in their birth are new, in their growth are scandalous, in their proper consequents are infinitely dangerous to their souls, and 'hunt for their precious life:' but, therefore, it is highly fit that they also should perceive their own advantages, and give God praise, that they are immured from such infinite dangers, by the holy precepts, and holy faith taught and commanded in the church of England and Ireland; in which the Word of God is set before them as a 'lantern to their feet, and a light unto their eyes;' and the sacraments are fully administered according to Christ's institution, and repentance is preached according to the measures of the Gospel, and faith in Christ is propounded according to the rule of the apostles, and the measures of the churches apostolical; and obedience to kings is greatly and sacredly urged, and the authority and order of bishops is preserved against the usurpation of the pope, and the invasion of schismatics and Aerians new and old; and truth and faith to all men is kept and preached to be necessary and inviolable, and the commandments are expounded with just severity, and without scruples; and holiness of life is urged upon all men, as indispensably necessary to salvation, and therefore without any allowances, tricks, and little artifices of escaping from it by easy and imperfect doctrines; and every thing is practised which is useful to the saving of our souls; and Christ's merits and satisfaction are entirely relied upon for the pardon of our sins; and the necessity of good works is universally taught; and our prayers are holy, unblamable, edifying, and understood; they are according to the measures of the Word of God, and the practice of all saints. In this church the children are duly, carefully, and rightly baptized, and the baptized, in their due time, are confirmed; and the confirmed are communicated; and penitents are absolved, and the impenitents punished and discouraged; and holy marriage in

all men is preferred before unclean concubinate in any; and nothing is wanting that God and his Christ hath made necessary to salvation.

Behold we set before you life and death, blessing and cursing, safety and danger. Choose which you will; but remember that the prophets who are among you, have declared to you the way of salvation. Now the 'Lord give you understanding in all things, and reveal even this also unto you.'—Amen.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE SECOND PART

OF THE

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY:

IN VINDICATION OF THE

FIRST PART,

AND FURTHER REPROOF AND CONVICTION

OF THE

ROMAN ERRORS.

THE

INTRODUCTION:

BEING

AN ANSWER TO THE FOURTH APPENDIX TO J. S.'S "SURE FOOTING;" INTENDED AGAINST THE GENERAL WAY OF PROCEDURE IN THE "DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY."

When our blessed Saviour was casting out the evil spirit from the poor demoniac in the Gospel, he asked his name; and he answered, "My name is Legion, for we are many." 'Legion' is a Roman word, and signifies 'an army,' as 'Roman' signifies 'Catholic;' that is, a great body of men, which though in true speaking they are but a part of an imperial army, yet when they march alone, they can do mischief enough, and call themselves an army royal. A squadron of this legion hath attempted to break a little fort or out-work of mine; they came in the dark, their names concealed, their qualities unknown, whether clergy or laity not to me discovered, only there is one pert man amongst them, one that is discovered by his "Sure Footing." The others I know not; but this man is a man famous in the 'new science of controversy' (as he is pleased to call it); I mean in the most beauteous and amiable part of it, railing and calumny; the man I mean is the ὁ αὐθάδης, 'the confident,' the man of principles, and the son of demonstration; and though he had so reviled the great champion[a] in the "Armies of the living God," that it was reasonable to think he had cast forth πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα, "all the fiery darts of the wicked one;" yet I find, that an evil fountain is not soon drawn dry, and he hath indignation

[a] Dr. H. H.

enough and reviling left for others, amongst whom I have the honour not to be the least sufferer and sharer in the persecution. He thought not fit to take any further notice of me but in an appendix[b]; the viper is but little; but it is a viper still, though it hath more tongue than teeth. I am the more willing to quit myself of it, by way of introduction, because he intends it as an 'organum catholicum' against the general way of the procedure which I have used in the 'Dissuasive;' and therefore I suppose the removing this, might ἑτοιμάζειν τὴν ὁδὸν, 'make my way smoother' in the following discourses.

I will take no other notice of his evil language, his scorn and reproach, his undervaluing and slighting the person and book of the 'Dissuader' (as he is pleased sometimes to call me); but I shall answer to these things as St. Bernard did to the temptation of the devil, endeavouring to hinder his preaching by tempting to vanity: "I neither began for you, nor for you will I make an end:" but I shall look on those rhetorical flowers of his own but as a fermentum, his spirit was troubled, and he 'breathed forth the froth as of an enraged sea;' and when he hath done, it may be he will be quiet; if not, let him know 'God will observe that which is to come, and require that which is past.'

But I will search and see what I can find of matter that is to be considered, and give such accounts of them as is necessary, and may be useful for the defence of my book, and the justification of myself against all ruder charges. And after I have done so, I shall proceed to other things which I shall esteem more useful.

The first thing I shall take notice of, is his scornful and slight speaking of Scripture, affirming that 'he is soonest beaten at this weapon,' that 'it is Sampson's hair;' it is the weakest part in the man: and yet if it be the weakest, it is that which St. Paul calls 'the weakness and foolishness of preaching,' more strong and more wise than all the wisdom of man. When the devil tempted our blessed Saviour, he used Scripture; but Christ did not reprove his way of arguing, but in the same way discovered his fraud. 'Scriptum est,' said the tempter; yea, but 'scriptum est,' said Christ,

[b] The fourth Appendix to 'Sure Footing.'

to other purposes than you intend; and so would J. S. have proceeded, if he had been at all in love with the way. But he thinks he hath a better; and the wonder is the less that the gentleman does not love the Scriptures, or at least gives too much suspicion that he does not; for he hath not yet proved himself by his writings to be so good a Christian as to love his enemies, or his reprovers: but, however he is pleased to put a scorn on Scripture expressions, it were much better, if he and his church too would use them more, and express their articles they contend for, and impose them on the Christian world, in the words and expressions of Scripture, which, we are sure, express the mind of God with more truth and simplicity, than is done by their words of art and expressions of the schools. If this had been observed, Christendom at this day had had fewer controversies, and more truth, and more charity; we should not have been puzzled to unriddle the words of 'transubstantiation,' and 'hyperdulia,' and 'infallibility,' and 'doctrines ex cathedra,' and 'fere de fide,' and 'next to heresy,' and 'temerarious,' and 'ordo ad spiritualia,' and 'St. Peter's chair,' and 'supremacy in spirituals,' and 'implicit faith,' and very many more profane or unhallowed novelties of speech, which have made Christianity quite another thing than it is in itself, or than it was represented by the apostles and apostolic men at first, as the plain way of salvation to all succeeding ages of the church for ever.

But be it as it will; for he will neither approve of Scripture language, nor is he pleased that I use 'any handsome expressions,' for that is charged upon me as a part of my fault; only to countenance all this, he is pleased to say that all these are 'but division upon no grounds;' and therefore to 'grounds and first principles' I must be brought, and by this way he is sure to 'blow up my errors from the foundation;' that is his expression, being a metaphor, I suppose, taken from the gunpowder treason, in which indeed, going upon popish grounds they intended to blow up something or other that was very considerable, from its very foundations.

To perform this effect, J. S. hath eight several mines, all which I hope to discover without Guy Faux's lantern.

The First Way.

His first way is, that I have not one first or self-evident principle to begin with, on which I build the 'Dissuasive;' but he hath, that is he says he hath; for he hath reproved that oral tradition, on which he and his church rely, is such a principle; he thought (it may be) he had reason then to say so; but the scene is altered, and until he hath sufficiently confuted his adversaries, who have proved his self-evident principle to be an evident and pitiful piece of sophistry, his boasting is very vain. However, though he hath failed in his undertaking, yet I must acquit myself as well as I can. I shall therefore tell him that the truth, fulness, and sufficiency of Scripture in all matters of faith and manners, is the principle that I and all protestants rely upon. And although this be not a first and self-evident principle, yet it is resolved into these that are. 1. Whatsoever God hath said is true. 2. Whatsoever God hath done is good. 3. Whatsoever God intends to bring to pass, he hath appointed means sufficient to that end. Now since God hath appointed the Scriptures to instruct us, and make us wise unto salvation, and to make the man of God perfect, certain it is, that this means must needs be sufficient to effect that end. Now that God did do this, to this end, to them that believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, is as evident as any first principle. And let these Scriptures be weighed together, and see what they do amount to. "Search the Scriptures; for therein ye think to have eternal life[c]." The Jews thought so, that is, they confessed and acknowledged it to be so; and if they had been deceived in their thought, besides that it is very probable Christ would have reproved it, so it is very certain he would not have bidden them to have used that means to that end. And if Christ himself and the apostles did convince the Jews out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, proving that Jesus was the Christ: if Christ himself and the apostles proved the resurrection, and the passion, and the supreme kingdom of Christ out of the Scriptures: if the apostle proved him to be the Messias, and that he ought to suffer and to rise again

[c] John, v. 39.

the third day, by no other precedent topic, and that upon these things Christian religion relied, as upon its entire foundation, and on the other side the Jewish doctors had brought in many things by tradition, to which our blessed Saviour gave no countenance, but reproved many of them, and made it plain that tradition was not the first and self-evident principle to rely upon in religion, but a way by which they had corrupted the commandment of God: it will follow from hence, that the Scriptures are the way that Christ and his apostles walked in, and that oral tradition was not. But then to this add what more concerns the New Testament, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel; in his preface he tells us; "that many had taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things, which are most surely believed amongst us *Christians*, and that he having perfect understanding of all things, (*viz. which Christ did and taught*) from the very first did write *this Gospel*, that Theophilus might know the certainty of those things in which he had been instructed:" Now here, if we believe St. Luke, was no want of any thing; he was fully instructed in all things; and he chose to write that book, that by that book Theophilus might know the truth, yea, the certainty of all things. Now if we be Christians, and believe St. Luke to be divinely inspired, this is not indeed a first but an evident principle; that a book of Scripture can make a man certain and instructed in the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ. To the same purpose is that of St. John[d], "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name." The end is salvation by Jesus Christ; the means of effecting this, was this writing the Gospel by St. John; and therefore it is a sure principle for Christians to rely upon, the word of God written by men divinely inspired, such as Christians believe and confess St. Luke and St. John to be. Hear St. Luke again[e]: "The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day he was taken up."—No man then can deny but all Christ's doctrine and life was fully set down by these evangelists and apostles; whether it were to any purpose, or no,

[d] John, xx. 31. [e] Acts, i.

let J. S. consider, and I shall consider with him in the sequel. But first, let us hear what St. Paul saith in an epistle written, as it is probable, not long before his death; but certainly after three of the Gospels, and divers of the epistles were written, and consequently related to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. "Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them: and that, from a child, thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works[f]." Now I demand; does J. S. believe these words to be true? Are the Scriptures able to make us wise unto salvation? Are they profitable to all intents and purposes of the spirit, that is, to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct? Is the end of all this economy, to make a Christian man, yea, a Christian bishop perfect? Can he by this dispensation be thoroughly furnished unto all good works, and that 'by faith in Jesus Christ?' If so, then this is the true principle, the apostolical way, the way of God, the way of salvation: and if Scriptures, the books written by the finger of God and the pen of apostles, can do all this, then they are something more than 'ink varied into divers figures, unsensed characters,' and I know not what other reviling epithets J. S. is pleased to cast upon them.

"Yea, but all this is nothing, unless we know that Scriptures are the word of God, that they were written by the apostles; and of this the Scriptures cannot be a witness in their own behalf: and therefore oral tradition must supply that, and consequently is the only first and self-evident principle;"—To this I answer; that it matters not, by what means it be conveyed to us that the Scriptures are the word of God. Oral tradition is an excellent means; but it is not that alone, by which it is conveyed. For if, by oral tradition, he means the testimony of the catholic church; it is the best external ministry of conveyance of this, being a matter

[f] 2 Tim. v. 14.

of fact, and of so great concernment. To which the testimony of our adversaries, Jews and heathens, adds no small moment; and the tradition is also conveyed to us by very many writings. But when it is thus conveyed, and that the church does believe them to be the word of God, then it is that I inquire, whether the Scripture cannot be a witness to us of its own design, fulness, and perfection. Certainly no principle is more evident than this, none more sure and none before it; Whatever God hath said is true, and in Scripture God did speak, and speak this; and therefore this to us is a first, at least, an evident principle.

Yea, but if this proposition, 'that the Scriptures are the word of God,' is conveyed to us by oral tradition, this must needs be the best and only principle; for if it be trusted for the whole, why not for every particular. This argument concludes thus: This is the gate of the house, therefore this is all the house. Every man enters this way; and therefore this is the hall and the cellar, the pantry and dining-room, the bed-chambers and the cocklofts. But besides the ridiculousness of the argument, there is a particular reason why the argument cannot conclude: the reason in brief is this, because it is much easier for any man to carry a letter, than to tell the particular errand; it is easier to tell one thing, than to tell ten thousand; to deliver one thing out of our hand, than a multitude out of our mouths; one matter of fact, than very many propositions; as it is easier to convey in writing all Tully's works, than to say by heart, with truth and exactness, any one of his orations. That the Bible was written by inspired men, God setting his seal to their doctrine, confirming by miracles what they first preached, and then wrote in a book, this is a matter of fact, and is no otherwise to be proved (unless God should proceed extraordinarily and by miracle) but by the testimony of wise men, who saw it with their eyes, and heard it with their ears, and felt it with their hands. This was done at first, then only consigned, then witnessed, and thence delivered. And with how great success, and with the blessing of how mighty a providence, appears it in this; because although as St. Luke tells us, many did undertake to write Gospels, or the declaration of the things so surely believed amongst Christians; and we find in St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen,

St. Irenæus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and St. Jerome mention made of many Gospels, as that of the Hebrews, the Egyptians, Nazarenes, Ebionites, the Gospel of James, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, and divers more, yet but four only were transmitted and consigned to the church; because these four only were written by these whose names they bear; and these men had the testimony of God, and a spirit of truth, and the promise of Christ, that the spirit should bring all things to their minds, and he did so: now of this we could have no other testimony but of those who were present, who stopped the first issue of the false Gospels, and the sound of the other four went forth into all the world, according to that of Origen; "Ecclesia cum quatuor tantum Evangelii libros habet, per universum mundum Evangeliis redundat; hæresies cum multa habeant, unum non habent." Those which heretics made are all lost, or slighted; those which the Spirit of God did write by the hands of men divinely inspired, these abide, and shall abide for ever. Now then this matter of fact how should we know, but by being told it by credible persons who could know, and never gave cause of suspicion that they should deceive us. Now if J. S. will be pleased to call this oral tradition, he may; but that which was delivered by this oral tradition, was not only preached at first, but transmitted to us by many writings, besides the Scriptures, both of friends and enemies. But suppose it were not; yet this book of Scriptures might be consigned by oral tradition from the apostles and apostolic men, and yet tradition become of little or no use after this consignation and delivery. For this was all the work which of necessity was to be done by it; and indeed this was all that it could do well.

1. This was all which was necessary to be done by oral tradition; because the wisdom of the Divine Spirit having resolved to write all the doctrine of salvation in a book, and having done it well and sufficiently in order to his own gracious purposes (for who dares so much as suspect the contrary?), there was no need that oral tradition should be kept up with the jointure of infallibility, since the first infallibility of the apostles was so sufficiently witnessed, that it convinced the whole world of Christians; and therefore was enough to consign the Divinity and perfection of this book for ever.

For it was in this as in the doctrine itself contained in the Scriptures; God "confirmed it by signs following;" that is, by signs proving that the apostles spake the mind of God; the things which they spake, were proved and believed for ever; but then the signs went away, and left a permanent and eternal event. So it is in the infallible tradition delivered by the apostles and apostolic age, concerning the Scriptures being the word of God; what they said was confirmed by all that testimony, by which they obtained belief in the church, to their persons and doctrines; but when they had once delivered this, there needed no remaining miracle, and entail of infallibility in the church, to go on in the delivery of this; for by that time that all the apostles were dead, and the infallible spirit was departed, the Scriptures of the Gospels were believed in all the world, and then it was not ordinarily possible ever any more to detract faith from that book; and then for the transmitting this book to after-ages, the Divine providence needed no other course, but the ordinary ways of man, that is, right reason, common faithfulness, the interest of souls, believing a good thing, which there was and could be no cause to disbelieve; and an universal consent of all men, that were any ways concerned for it, or against it; and this not only preached upon the house-tops, but set down also in very many writings. This actually was the way of transmitting this book, and the authority of it, to after-ages respectively. . . . . .

These things are, of themselves, evident; yet because J. S. still demands we should set down some first and self-evident principle, on which to found the whole procedure, I shall once more satisfy him; and this is a first and self-evident principle, 'whatsoever can be spoken, can be written;' and if it be plain spoken, it may be as plain written. I hope I need not go about to demonstrate this; for it is of itself evident, that God can write all that he is pleased to speak; and all good scribes can set down in writing whatsoever another tells them; and in his very words too, if he please, he can as well transcribe a word spoken, as a word written. And upon this principle it is that the protestants believe, that the words of Scripture can be as easily understood, after they are written in a book,—as when they were spoken in the churches of the first Christians; and the apos-

tles and evangelists did write the life of Christ, his doctrines, the doctrines of faith, as plain as they did speak them, at least as plain as was necessary to the end for which they were written, which is the salvation of our souls. And what necessity now can there be, that there should be a perpetual miracle still current in the church, and a spirit of infallibility descendant to remember the church of all those things, which are at once set down in a book, the truth and authority of which was at first proved by infallible testimony, the memory and certainty of which is preserved amongst Christians by many unquestionable records and testimonies of several natures?

As there was no necessity that an infallible oral tradition should do any more but consign the books of Scripture; so it could not do any more, without a continual miracle. That there was no continued miracle is sufficiently proved, by proving it was not necessary it should; for that also is another first and self-evident principle, that 'the all-wise God does not do any thing, much less such things as miracles, to no purpose, and for no need.' But now if there be not a continued miracle, then oral tradition was not fit to be trusted, in relating the particulars of the Christian religion. For if in a succession of bishops and priests, from St. Peter down to pope Alexander VII. it is impossible for any man to be assured that there was no nullity in the ordinations, but insensibly there might intervene something to make a breach in the long line, which must, in that case, be made up as well as they can, by tying a knot on it: It will be infinitely more hard to suppose, but that in the series and successive talkings of the Christian religion, there must needs be infinite variety, and many things told otherwise, and some things spoken with evil purposes, by such as "preached Christ out of envy;" and many odd things said and doctrines strangely represented by such as "creep into houses, and lead captive silly women:" It may be, the bishops of the apostolical churches did preach right doctrines for divers ages; but yet in Jerusalem, where fifteen bishops in succession were circumcised, who can tell how many things might be spoken in justification of that practice, which might secretly undervalue the apostolical doctrine. And where was the oral tradition then of this proposition: "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall

profit you nothing?" But, however, though the bishops did preach all the doctrine of Christ; yet these sermons were told to them that were absent, by others who, it may be, might mistake something, and understand them to other senses than was intended. And though infallibility of testifying might be given to the church, that is, to the chief rulers of it (for I hope J. S. does not suppose it subjected in every single Christian man or woman), yet when this testimony of theirs is carried abroad, the reporters are not always infallible: and let it be considered, that even now, since Christianity hath been transmitted so many ages, and there are so many thousands that teach it, yet how many hundreds of these thousands understand but very little of it, and therefore tell it to others but pitifully and imperfectly; so that if God, in his goodness, had not preserved to us "the surer word" of the prophetical and evangelical Scriptures, Christianity would, by this time, have been a most strange thing; "litera scripta manet." As to the apostles while they lived, it was so easy to have recourse, that error durst not appear with an open face, but the cure was at hand: so have the apostles, when they took care to have something left to the churches to put them in mind of the precious doctrine; they put a sure standard, and fixed a rule in the church, to which all doubts might be brought to trial, and against which all heresies might be dashed in pieces. But we have lived to see the apostolical churches rent from one another, and teaching contrary things, and pretending contrary traditions, and abounding in several senses, and excommunicating one another; and it is impossible, for example, that we should see the Greeks going any whither, but to their own superior and their own churches to be taught Christian religion; and the Latins did always go to their own patriarch, and to their own bishops and churches, and it is not likely it should be otherwise now, than it hath been hitherto, that is, that they follow the religion that is taught them there, and the tradition that is delivered by their immediate superiors. Now there being so vast a difference, not only in the great churches, but in several ages, and in several dioceses, and in single priests, every one understanding as he can, and speaking as he please, and remembering as he may, and expressing it

accordingly, and the people also understanding it by halves, and telling it to their children, sometimes ill, sometimes not at all, and seldom as they should; and they who are taught, neglecting it too grossly, and attending to it very carelessly, and forgetting it too quickly; and which is worse yet, men expounding it according to their interests, or their lusts, out of faction, or as they are misled, and then report it accordingly: These, and a thousand things more, convince us of the easiness of being deceived by oral tradition of doctrines, which can insensibly and unavoidably be changed, in great differences and mistakes; but can never suffer any considering person to believe, that mouth-delivery is a better way of keeping records than writing in a book.

So that now I wonder that J. S. is pleased to call tradition's certainty, the "first principle of controversy;" the pretence of it is indeed the mother and nurse of controversy; for in the world there is not any thing more uncertain than the report of men's words. How many men have been undone by mistaken words? And it is well remembered, that in the last unhappy parliament[s], a gentleman was called to the bar for speaking words of truth and honesty, but against the sense of the house: the words were spoken in a great assembly, before many witnesses; curious and malicious observers spoke at that very time; and yet when the words were questioned, they could not agree what they were; and consequently the sense of them might be strangely altered, since a word, the misplacing of a word, an accent, a point, any ambiguity, any mistake, might change the sense: well, upon this accident the Speaker called to a gentleman, whom he had observed to write the words; and to him they appealed, and he told them that which I supposed was said, but wholly differing from them that spake it, the traditionary part of the parliament.

All the rest which J. S. says in his First Way, is nothing but a strange and arrogant bragging, which as it is inconsistent with the modesty of a Christian, so it is an ill sign of a sober and wise conviction; for if he had demonstrated the certainty of oral tradition, he needed no such noises; they

[s] 1641.

that speak truest, make the least stir, and when they are at peace in the truth of the thing, they are pleased it is well, and so they leave it to prevail by its native strengths.

But after all this noise made by J. S., why is he so fierce to call me to first and self-evident principles? Does any school of philosophy do so in their systems and discourses? Are there not in every science divers 'præcognita,' things to be 'presupposed' and believed, before we can prove any thing? It is reasonable, when I reprove any vicious person for dishonouring God, and dissuade him from his wicked courses, that he should tell me he will not be dissuaded by my fine words, but if I will go to principles and first grounds, he will hear me; and I must first prove what 'dishonouring' is, and 'how God can be dishonoured,' and whether it be only by fiction of law, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, and by way of condescension it is so said; and yet after all this, I must prove that 'God does care at all, whether the man say such things or no;' or lastly, I must prove that 'there is a God,' before he can suffer me to reprove him upon such ungrounded discourses. Theology, and the science of the Scriptures, suppose divers grounds laid down before and believed; and, therefore, it were a wild demand, that, in every book, we should make a logical system, or a formal analysis of all our discourses, and make a map describing all the whole passage from the first truth, to the present affirmative.

But if J. S. will but consider what the design of 'The Dissuasive' was, and that the purpose of it was to prove, that the doctrine of popery as such, is wholly an innovation, neither catholic nor apostolic; there was no need of coming to any other first grounds, but to show the time when the Roman propositions were not catholic doctrines, and when they began to be esteemed so. These things are matters of fact, and need no reduction to any other first principles, but the credible testimony of men fit to be believed. But yet because I will humour J. S. for this once; even here also 'The Dissuasive' relies upon a first and self-evident principle as any is in Christianity; and that is, "Quod primum, verum." And, therefore, if I prove that the Roman doctrines now controverted, were not "at first," but came in afterwards, then I have built 'The Dissuasive' aright; and now

I have pointed it out, and have already in part, and, in the following book, have more largely done it; therefore, I hope J. S. will be as good as his word, and "yield himself absolutely confuted." But because there are some other reasons inclining me to think he will not perform his promise, and particularly "because of the ill-naturedness of *his own* principles," (that I may use his own expression in his postscript); yet if I have failed in my proofs, it is not for want of clear and evident principles, but of right deductions from them; and, therefore, he is mistaken in his First Way of mining; and whether there be any defect in any thing else, will be put to trial in the sequel: in the mean time, the lion is not so terrible as he is painted.

The Second Way.

In the next place, I shall try his second mine; and believe I shall find it big with a 'brutum fulmen;' and that it can do no hurt but make a noise, and scare the boys in the neighbourhood.

For now, though, in the First Way, he blamed me for relying upon no first and self-evident principle; in the second, he excludes me from all right of using any, unless I will take his. He says, "I have no right to allege Scriptures or fathers, councils or reason, history or instances." But why, I pray? "It is done thus: All discourse supposes that certain upon which it builds." That is his first proposition; what he makes of it afterwards we shall see: in the mean time, he may consider, that though all his discourses suppose that certain on which they build, because his geese are swans, and his arguments are demonstrations, yet there are many wiser discourses which rely upon probable arguments: and so does a moral demonstration; and such a great wit of France, Mr. Silhon, supposed to be his best way of proving the immortality of the soul. Now this is nothing but a coacervation of many probabilities, which, according to the subject matter, (as not being capable of any other way of probation) amounts to the effect of a demonstration. And however this gentleman looks big upon it, the infallibility of the church of Rome is, by the wisest of his own party, acknowledged to rely but upon prudential motives; and he

is a madman, says Aristotle, who, in some cases (in which yet a man may discourse wisely enough), looks for any more than arguments of a high probability. But what does J. S. think of arguments 'ad hominem?' Do they suppose that certain, which they build upon? or, if they do not, can there be no good discourses made upon them? What are the wise consultations of states and councils? Do they always discourse foolishly when they proceed and argue but upon probabilities? Nay, what does J. S. think of general councils, who are fallible in their premises, though right in their conclusions? Do their conclusions suppose their premises, upon which they build their conclusions, to be certain? If not, then J. S. hath affirmed weakly, that all discourse supposes that certain upon which it builds.

Well! but how does he build upon this rotten foundation, who hath already, in this very procedure, confuted his following discourse, as being such which does not, I am sure, ought not (as appears by the reasons I have brought against it) suppose that certain on which it is built: "Thus, if tradition, or the way of conveying down matters of fact by the former ages testifying, can fail, none of these, viz. Scripture, reason, history, fathers, councils, yea, instances, are certain." This is his assumption; and this, besides that it is false, is also to none of his purposes. 1. It is false; for suppose tradition be not certain, how must 'all reason' therefore fail? For, first, there must be some reason presupposed, before the certainty of tradition can be established; and if there be not, why does J. S. offer, at a demonstrative reason, to prove the certainty of tradition? though, if there be no better reasons for it than he hath yet shown, his reason and tradition fail together. 2. Supposing tradition should fail, yet there may be reasons given for the excellency of Christianity, which, as they confirm Christians in their faith, and beget love to the articles, so they may be sufficient to invite even the wiser heathens to consider it, and choose it.

But then suppose, that these things should be uncertain upon the supposal of the uncertainty of tradition of matters of fact, yet it will avail J. S. nothing; for it will only follow, that then "those things which only rely upon that matter of fact," are not demonstratively certain; but though it may fail 'in some things,' it may be 'right in others;' and we

may have reason for one, and not for another, and then either those things must be proved some other way, or else they can be believed but only so far as the first topic will extend; which yet, though so uncertain as not to be infallible or demonstrative, may be certain enough to make men believe, and live and die accordingly. For if we have no better, God requires no better, and by these things will bring his purposes to pass; and if this were not true, what will become of the laity, and the many ignorant priests of his own church, who do not rely upon the certainty of universal tradition, but the single testimony of their parents or their parish priest? But of this afterwards.

But to come closer to the thing: Suppose tradition of fact be certain (for so it is in many instances, and if it be universal, it will be allowed to be so in all); yet it is but so certain, that yet there is a natural possibility that it should be false; and it is possible that what the generality of one sort of men do jointly testify, may yet be found false, or at least uncertain; as the burial of Mahomet in Mecca, and his being attracted by a loadstone, of which the Mahometans have a long and general tradition, at least we in Christendom are made to believe so; and if it be not so, yet it is naturally possible that they should all believe and teach a lie, and they actually do so; yet I will allow ecclesiastical catholic tradition, speaking morally, to be certain and indubitable; and that if this should fail, much of our comfort and certainty of adherence to Christian religion would fail with it; but then it is to be considered, that the certainty of tradition which is allowed, is but 'in matters of fact, not in doctrines,' because the fact may be one, the doctrines many; that soon remembered, these soon forgotten; that perceived by sense, these mistaken and misunderstood; and though it is very credibly reported and easily believed, that Julius Cæsar was killed in the senate, yet all that he said that day, and all the unwritten orders he made, and all his orations, will not, cannot, so easily be trusted upon oral tradition. So that oral tradition is a good ministry of conveying a record, but it is not the best record; and the principal office of oral tradition is done when the record is verified by it, when the Scripture is consigned; and though still it is useful, yet it is not still so necessary: for when, by tradition or oral testimony, we are

assured that the Bible is the word of God, and the great record of salvation, then we are sure that God who gave it, will preserve it, or not require it,—and he that designed it to such an end, will make and keep it sufficient to that end, and that he hath done so already is therefore notorious, because God hath been pleased to multiply the copies, and enwrap the contents of that book with the biggest interests of mankind; that it is made impossible to destroy that Divine repository of necessary and holy doctrines; and when the Christians were, by deaths and tortures, assaulted, to cause them to deliver up their Bibles, that they might be destroyed, the prosecutors prevailed not; they might, with as much success, have undertaken to drink up the sea. And that Providence which keeps the whole from destruction, will also keep all its necessary parts from corruption, lest the work of God become insufficient to the end of its designation; and he that will look for better security, than we can have from the certain knowledge and experience of the infallibility of the Divine Providence and never-failing goodness, must erect a new office of assurance.

The effect of this discourse is this: That oral tradition may be very certain, and, in some case, is the best evidence we have in matters of fact, unless where we are taught by sense or revelation; and if it were not certain, we should be infinitely to seek for notices of things that are past: but this is but a moral certainty, though it be the best we have; and this is but in matters of fact, not in doctrines and orations, or notions delivered in many words; and after all this, when tradition hath consigned an instrument on record, a writing or a book, it may then leave being necessary, and when the providence of God undertakes to supply the testimony of man, the change is for our advantage.

Well! Now, having considered this second proposition, let us see what his conclusion is; for that also hath something of particular consideration, as having in it something more than was in the premises. The conclusion is: "Therefore a protestant or a renouncer of tradition, cannot, with reason, pretend to discourse out of any of these." To which I shall reply these things: 1. This gentleman wholly mistakes us protestants, as he did the protestant religion when he weakly forsook it. Protestants are not renouncers of tradition; for

we allow all catholic traditions that can prove themselves to be such; but we finding little or nothing, (excepting this, that "the Bible is the word of God," and that "the Bible contains all the will of God for our salvation," all doctrines of faith and life), little or nothing else, I say, descending to us by a universal tradition, therefore we have reason to adhere to Scripture, and renounce, as J. S. is pleased to call it, all pretence of tradition of any matters of faith, not plainly set down in the Bible.

But now, since we renounce no tradition but such as is not, and cannot be, proved to be competent and catholic, I hope, with the leave of J. S., we may discourse out of Scriptures and councils, fathers and reason, history and instances. For we believe tradition when it is credible, and we believe what two or three honest men say upon their knowledge, and we make no scruple to believe that there is an English plantation in the Barbadoes, because many tell us so, who have no reason to deceive us; so that we are in a very good capacity of making use of Scriptures and councils, &c. But I must deal freely with Mr. S.; though we do believe these things upon credible testimony, yet we do not think the testimony infallible, and we do believe many men who yet pretend not to infallibility: and if nothing were credible but what is infallible, then no man had reason to believe his priest or his father: we are taught by Aristotle that that is credible, "Quod pluribus, quod sapientibus, quod omnibus videtur;" and yet these are but degrees of probability, and yet are sufficient to warrant the transaction of all human affairs, which, unless where God is pleased to interpose, are not capable of greater assurance. Even the miracles wrought by our blessed Saviour, though they were the best arguments in the world to prove the Divinity of his person and his mission, yet they were but the best argument we needed and understood; but although they were infinitely sufficient to convince all but the malicious, yet there were some so malicious who did not allow them to be demonstrations, but said, that he did "cast out devils by Beelzebub." "Here we live by faith and not by knowledge;" and, therefore, it is an infinite goodness of God to give proofs sufficient for us, and fitted to our natures, and proportioned to our understanding; but yet such as may neither extinguish faith,

nor destroy the nature of hope, which, although it may be so certain and sure as to be a stedfast "anchor of the soul," yet it may have in it something of natural uncertainty; and yet "fill us with all comfort and hope in believing:" so that we allow tradition to be certain if it be universal, and to be credible according to the degrees of its universality and disinterested simplicity; and, therefore, we have as much right to use the Scriptures and fathers as J. S. and all his party: and all his following talk in the sequel of this Second Way, relying upon a ground which I have discovered to be false, must needs fall of itself and signify nothing. But although this point be soon washed off, yet I suppose the charge, which will recoil upon himself, will not so easily be put by. For though it appears, that protestants have right to use fathers and councils, Scriptures and reason, yet J. S. and his little convention of four or five brothers of the tradition, have clearly disentitled themselves to any use of these. For if the oral tradition of the present church be the infallible and only rule of faith, then there is no oracle but this one; and the decrees of councils did bind only in that age they were made, as being part of the tradition of that age; but the next age needed it not, as giving testimony to itself, and being its own rule. And, therefore, when a question is to be disputed, you can go no whither to be tried but to the tradition of the present church, and this is not to be proved by a series and order of records and succession; but if you will know what was formerly believed, you must only ask, what is believed now; for now rivers run back to their springs, and the lamb was to blame for troubling the wolf by drinking in the descending river, for the lower is now higher; and you are not to prove by what is past, that the present is right, but by the present you prove what was past, and Harry VII. is before Harry VI., and children must teach their parents, and therefore, it is to be hoped, in time may be their elders. But, by this means, fathers and councils are made of no use to these gentlemen, who have greatly obliged the world by telling us a short way to science; and though our life be short, yet art is shorter, especially in our way, in theology; concerning which there needs no labour, no study, no reading, but to know of the present church what was always believed, and taught, and what ought to be so; nay, what

was done, or what was said, or what was written, is to be told by the present church, which, without further trouble, can infallibly assure us. And upon this account, the jesuits have got the better of the Jansenists; for though these men weakly and fondly deny such words to be in Jansenius, yet the virtual church can tell better, whether they be or no in Jansenius; or rather, it matters not whether they be or no; for it being the present sense of the pope, he may proceed to condemnation.

But J. S. offers at some reason for this: "For," saith he, "fathers being eminent witnesses, to immediate posterity or children, of the church's doctrine received, and councils representatives of the church; their strengths as proofs,—nay, their very existence is not known till the notion of the church be known, which is part of their definition, and to which they relate." This is but part of his argument, which I yet must consider apart, because every proposition of his argument hath in it something very untrue; which when I have remarked, I shall consider the whole of it altogether.

And here, first, I consider that it is a strange proposition to say, that "the existence of the fathers is not known, till the notion or definition of the church be known." For who is there of any knowledge in any thing of this nature, that hath not heard of St. Austin, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, or St. Gregory? The Spaniards have a proverb, "There was never good oglio without bacon, nor good sermon without St. Austin;" and yet I suppose all the people of Spain that hear the name of St. Austin, it may be, five hundred times every Lent, make no question of the existence of St. Austin, or that there was such a man as he; and yet I believe, not very many of them can tell the definition of the church. Thousands of the people, and the very boys, see the pictures of St. Austin sold in fairs and markets, and yet are not so wise as to know the notion or nature of the church; and indeed, many wiser people, both among them and us, will be very much to seek in the definition, when your learned men amongst yourselves dispute what that nature or definition is.

But, it may be, though J. S. put fathers and councils into the same proposition, yet he means it of councils only, and that is the existence of councils which is not to be had without the notion or definition of church, and this is as false as

the other; for what tradesman in Germany, Italy, France, or Spain, is not well enough assured that there was such a thing as the council of Trent? and yet, to be knowing of this, it was not necessary that they should be told how church is to be defined. Indeed they cannot know what it is to be church-councils, unless they know as much of church as they do of councils. But what think we? Could not men know there was a council at Ariminum more numerous than that at Nice, unless they had the notion of church? Certainly the church was no part of the definition of that council, nor did it relate, save only as enemies are relatives to each other; and if they be, yet it is hard to say they are parts of each other's definition. But, it may be, J. S. means this saying of good and catholic councils: yet they also may be known to have been, without skill in definitions. Definitions do not tell 'an sit,' but 'quid sit;' the first is to be supposed before any definition is to be inquired after.

Well! But how shall the being or nature of church be known? That is his second proposition, and tells us a pretty thing; "Nor is the being or nature of church known, till it be certainly known, who are faithful or have true faith, who not; which must be manifested by their having, or not having, the true rule of faith." Why, but does the having the true rule of faith make a man faithful? Cannot a man have the true rule of faith, and yet forsake it, or not make use of it, or 'hide the truth in unrighteousness?' Does the having the best antidote in the world make a man healthful, though he live disorderly, and make no use of it? But to let that pass among the other *σφάλματα*. That which is more remarkable is, "That the being or nature of church is not known, till it be certainly known who are faithful or have true faith." I had thought, that the way, in the church of Rome, of pronouncing men faithful, or to have true faith, had been their being in the church, and that adhering to the church (whose being and truth they must, therefore, be presupposed to believe), had been the only way of pronouncing them faithful; which I supposed so certain amongst men, that though they have no faith at all, but to believe as the church believes, had been a sufficient declaration of the faith of ignorant men. But it seems the tables are turned. It is not enough to go to the church; but first they must be

assured that they are faithful, and have true faith, before they know any thing of the church.

But if the testimony of the present church be the only rule of faith, as J. S. would fain make us believe, then it had been truer said; a man cannot know the being or nature of faith, till he be well acquainted with the church. And must the rule of faith be tried by the church, and must the church be tried by the rule of faith? Is the testimony of the church the measure and touchstone of faith, and yet must we have the faith before we have any knowledge whether there be a church or no? Are they both first, and both prove one another, and is there here no circle? But however I am glad that the evidence of truth hath brought this gentleman to acknowledge that our way is the better way; and that we must first choose our religion, and then our church; and not first choose our church, and then blindly follow the religion of it whatsoever it be. But then also it will follow that J. S. hath destroyed his main hypothesis, and the oral tradition of the present church is not 'the rule of faith;' for that must first be known, before we can know, whether there be such a thing as the church or no; whose rule that is pretended to be.

And now follows his conclusion, which is nought upon other accounts; "Wherefore," saith he, "since the properties of the rule of faith do all agree to tradition our rule, and none of them to theirs, it follows the protestant or renouncer of tradition knows not what is either right Scripture, father or council, and so ought not to meddle with either of them." To this I have already answered; and what J. S. may do hereafter, when he happens to fall into another fit of demonstration, I know not; but as yet he hath been very far from doing what he says he hath done, that is, 'evidently proved,' what he undertook in this question. And I suppose I have, in a following section of this book, evidently proved that tradition, such I mean as the church of Rome uses in this inquiry, leads into error, or may do, as often as into truth; and, therefore, though we may and do use tradition as a probable argument in many things, and some as certain in one or two things to which in the nature of the thing it is apt to minister, yet it is infinitely far from being the rule of faith, the whole Christian faith.

But I wonder why J. S. saith, that, for want of tradition, we cannot know either right Scripture, fathers or councils. I do not think that by tradition they do know all the books of Scriptures. Do they know by universal or apostolical tradition, that the epistle to the Hebrews is canonical Scripture? The church of Rome had no tradition for it for above four hundred years, and they received it at last from the tradition of the Greek church; and then they, not the Roman church, are the great conservers of tradition, and they will get nothing by that. And what universal tradition can they pretend for those books which are rejected by some councils; as particularly that of Laodicea (which is in the code of the universal church, and some of the fathers), which yet they now receive; certainly in that age which rejected them, there was no catholic tradition for them, and those fathers, which (as J. S. expresses it) "were eminent witnesses, to their immediate posterity or children, of the church's doctrine received," in all likelihood did teach their posterity what themselves professed; and, therefore, it is possible the fathers in that council and some others of the same sentiment, might join in saying something which might deceive their posterity; and consequently the very ground of J. S.'s demonstration is digged up, for it was very possible the fathers might teach something that contradicts the present oral tradition of the church; because when they were alive, they believed the contradictory.

But further yet; can J. S. affirm, that, by the oral tradition of the present church, we can be infallibly taught, which books were written by the fathers, and which not? If he can, how haps it that the doctors of his church are not agreed about very many of them, some rejecting that as spurious, which others quote as genuine. If he cannot, then we may have a title to make use of the fathers, though we did renounce tradition; because by tradition certain and infallible they do not know it; and then if either they do not know it at all, or know it any other ways than by tradition, we may know it that way as well as they, and therefore have as good a title to make use of them as themselves.

But the good man proceeds, "Since pretended instances of tradition's failing depend on history, and historical cer-

tainty cannot be built upon dead characters, but on living sense in men's hearts delivered from age to age that those passages are true, that is, on tradition, it follows that if the way of tradition can fail, all history is uncertain, and consequently, all instances as being matters of fact, depending on history." To this I answer; that it is true, that there are many instances, in which it is certain that tradition hath failed, as will appear in the following section; and it is as true, that the record of these instances is kept in books, which are very ancient and written by authors so credible, that no man questions the truth of these instances: now I grant that we are told by the words delivered by our forefathers, that these books were written by such men; but then, it may be, our forefathers though they kept the books safe, yet knew not what was written in them; and if all the contents of the books had been left only to rely upon the living sense in their hearts, and the hearts of their posterity, we should have had but few books, and few instances of the failing of tradition, only one great one would have been left, that is, the losing of almost all: that that is now recorded would have been a fatal sign, that tradition's fail was the cause of so sad a loss. It is well, tradition hath helped us to the dead characters; they bear their living sense so within themselves, that it is quickly understood when living men come to read them. But now I demand of J. S. whether or no historical certainty relies only on certain and indefectible tradition? If it does not, then a man may be certain enough of the sacred history, though there be no certain oral tradition "built on living sense in men's hearts, delivered from age to age." If he does, then I must ask whether J. S. does believe Tacitus; or that there was such a man as Agricola, or that the senate decreed that Nero should be punished 'more majorum.' If he does believe these stories, and these persons, then he must also conclude that there is an oral indefectible tradition that Tacitus wrote this book, and that every thing in that book was written by him, and it remains at this day as it was at first, and that all this was not conveyed by dead and unsensed characters, but by living sense in our hearts. But now it will be very hard for any man to say, that there is such an infallible tradition delivering all that Roman story which we believe to be true. No man pre-

tends that there is; and therefore, 1. History may be relied on without a certain indefectible oral tradition. And 2. The tradition that consigns history to after-ages may be, and is so most commonly, nothing but of a fame that such a book was written by such a famous person who lived in that age, and might know the truth of what he wrote, and had no reason to lie, but was in all regards a very worthy and a credible person. Now here is as much certainty as need to be; the thing itself will bear no more; and almost all human affairs are transacted by such an economy as this; and, therefore, it is certain enough, and is so esteemed, because it does all its intentions, and loses no advantage, and persuades effectually, and regularly engages to all those actions and events, which history could do, if the certainty were much greater. For the certainty of persuasion, and prevailing upon the greatest parts of mankind, may be as great by history, wisely and with great probability transmitted, as it can be by any imaginary certainty of a tradition that any dreamer can dream of. Nay, it may be equal to a demonstration; I mean, as to the certainty of prevailing: for a little reason to a little understanding as certainly prevails, as a greater to a deep and inquisitive understanding; and mankind does not need demonstrations in any case, but where reason is puzzled with an 'æquilibrium,' and that there be great probabilities 'hinc inde.' And, therefore, in these cases where is a probability on one side, and no appearance of reason to the contrary, that probability does the work of a demonstration. "For a reason to believe a thing, and no reason to disbelieve it, is as proper a way to persuade and to lead to action as that which is demonstrated." And this is the case of history, and of instances; which though they cannot (no not by an oral tradition) be so certain, as that the thing could not possibly have been otherwise; yet when there is no sufficient cause of suspicion of fraud and imposture, and great reason from any topic to believe that it is true, he is a very fool that will forbear to act upon that account, only because it is possible that that instance might have been not true, though he have no reason to think it false. And yet this foolish sophism runs mightily along in J. S.'s demonstrations, he cannot for his life distinguish between credible and infallible; nothing by him can make

faith unless it demonstrate; that is, nothing can make faith but that which destroys it, by turning it into science.

His last argument for his Second Way of mining is so like the other, that it is the worse for it: "Since reasons are fetched from the natures of things, and the best nature in what it is (abstracting from disease and madness) unalterable, is the ground of the human part of Christian tradition, and most incomparable strength is superadded to it as it is Christian, by the supernatural assistances of the Holy Ghost:—it is a wild conceit to think any piece of nature or discourse built on it can be held certain, if tradition (especially Christian tradition) may be held uncertain."

In this jargon,—for I know not what else to call it,—there are a pretty company of nothings put together; that indeed they are "ink varied in divers figures, and unsensed characters," they are nothing else. For 1. It is false that all "reason" (for so he must mean, if he would speak to any purpose) "is fetched from the natures of things;" some rely upon concessions and presuppositions only; some upon the state of exterior affairs, and introduced economies, or accidental mesnage of things; some upon presumptions, and some even upon the weaknesses of men, upon contingencies; and some which pretend to be reasons rely upon false grounds, and such are J. S.'s demonstrations.

But suppose they did, as indeed the best reasons do, what then? Why then, the "best nature," that is, I suppose he means (the human) "unalterable (abstracting from disease and madness) is the ground of the human part of Christian tradition." This proposition hath in it something that is false, and something that is to no purpose. That which is false is, that "the nature of man, unless he be mad or diseased in his brain, is unalterable."—As if men could not be changed by interest or ambition, pride or prejudice, by weakness and false apostles, mistake or negligence. And by any of these a man, that naturally hath faculties to understand, and capacity of learning and speaking truth, may be so changed, that he is very alterable from good to bad, from wise to foolish, from the knowledge of the truth to believe a lie, and be transported by illusions of the devil: every man naturally loves knowledge, that is his nature; and it is the best nature; but yet it is so alterable, that some men who

from the principles of this best nature are willing to learn, and they ' are ever learning,' yet they are so ' altered,' that ' they never come to the knowledge of truth.'

But supposing that this best nature is the ground of the human part of tradition, yet it is not the ground of the human part of tradition, as it is unalterable; but as it hath a defectible understanding, and a free and a changeable will, and innumerable weaknesses, for these are so in this best nature, that it can never be without them. And, therefore, because this ground may be slippery, there will be no " Sure Footing" here: especially since it is but the ground of the human part of tradition; for which cause it can be no more ground of truth in religion, than the Roman story, than Plutarch or Livy is of infallible indefectible truth in history; and, therefore, J. S. does very wisely add to this, " The incomparable strengths of the supernatural assistances of the Holy Ghost." But these alone can be sufficient, if they could be proved to be given infallibly, absolutely, and without the altering condition of our making right use of them; without grieving the Holy Spirit; of which because there is no promise, and no experience, it is no wild conceit to think tradition may be uncertain, and yet our discourses in religion by other principles be certain enough. But now I perceive that J. S. is no such implacable man, for all the seeming fierceness of his persuasion in his new mode of oral tradition, but that in time he may be reduced to the old way of this church; and ground (as he does mainly here) her infallibility not upon new demonstrations taken from the nature of things, but upon the continual " assistances and helps of the only infallible Spirit of God." That indeed is a way possible, if it were to be had; but this new way hath neither sense nor reason: and, therefore, in this place he wisely puts the greatest stress upon the other. I should have proceeded a little further, if I could have understood what J. S. means, by " any piece of nature built on tradition;" and if he had not here put in the phrase of a ' wild conceit,' I should have wanted a name for it; but because it is no other, I shall now let it alone, and dig into the other mines, and see if they be more dangerous than these bugbears.

The Third Way.

THE Third Way I must needs say is a fine one. He offers to prove my Dissuasive to be no dissuasive, no, nor can it be a dissuasive. And why? because "to dissuade, is to unfix the understanding from what it held before; which includes to make it hold or assent, that what it held before certain, is false or at least uncertain." And here before I proceed further, it is fit we acknowledge, that we owe to J. S. the notice of these two mysteries. 1. What is meant by dissuading, and that it is "making a man to change his opinion, and unfixing of his mind:" And the second, that this unfixing the mind makes the mind to 'shake, or to be changed, to be uncertain, or to think the proposition fit to be held:' we being thus instructed in these grounds of some new designed demonstration, may the surer proceed: for wisely he adds a conjecture, that surely by my Dissuasive from Popery, I intend 'to oblige men to assent to the contrary.' I do believe indeed I did; but my first aim was to dissuade, that is, to unfix them, and afterwards to establish them in the contrary. Well! thus far we are agreed; but for all this, "The thing I intend cannot be done by me; I cannot dissuade; because I have no peculiar method of my own;" but I use those means which others use to prove errors by, and if the way I take, be common to truth and error, it is good for nothing, error shall pretend to it as well as truth: I must have a "particularity of method above what is in others." Now this is strange, that I should be so severely dealt with; why is more required of me than of others? I take the same way that the writers of books of controversy used to take; I quote Scriptures, and fathers, and histories, and instances, and I use reason as well as I can: I find that Bellarmine and Baronius, Cardinal Perron and Gregory de Valentia, Stapleton and Hart, Champian and Reynolds, use the same dull way as I do; and yet they hope to persuade and dissuade according to the subject matter, and why my penny should not be as good silver as theirs I know not; but I hope I shall know by and by, why, the true reason why I cannot dissuade, and that "I miscall my book 'a Dissuasive' is, because the method

which I take, is " common to those discourses, which have in them power to satisfy the understanding, and those who have no such power." But herein is a wonderful thing, my book cannot dissuade; because I take a way which is taken in discourses which can satisfy the understanding. For if some discourses proceeding my way can satisfy the understanding, as J. S. here confesses, then it is to be hoped, so may mine; at least there is nothing in my method to hinder it, but it may: yea, but this method is also used in discourses which have no such power: well! and what then? Is not, therefore, my method as good a method as can be, when it is the method that all men use; they that can satisfy the understanding, and they that cannot. And is there any thing more ignorant than to think a method, or way of proof is nought, because some men use it to good purposes, and some to bad? And is light not a glorious covering, because the evil spirit sometimes puts it on? Was not our Saviour's way of confuting the devil by Scripture very good, because the devil used the same way, and so it was a " way common to discourses, that have in them the power to satisfy the understanding, and those which have no such power."—Titius is sued by Sempronius for a farm which he had long possessed, and to which Titius proves his title by indubitable records, and laws, and patents. Sempronius pretends to do so too; and tells the judge that he ought not to regard any proof of Titius's offering, because he goes upon grounds which himself also goes upon; and so they are not apt to be a ground of determining any thing, because they are common to both sides. The judge smiles, and inquires who hath most right to the pretended grounds; but approves the method of proceeding, because it is common to the contrary pretenders: and this is so far from being an argument against my method, that in the world nothing can be said greater in allowance of it; even because I proved upon principles allowed by both sides, that is, I dispute upon principles, upon which we are agreed to put the cause to trial. Did the primitive fathers refuse to be judged by, or to argue from Scriptures, because the heretics did argue from thence too? Did not the fathers take from them their armour in which they trusted? And did not David strike with the sword of Goliath, because that was the sword,

which his enemy had used? David proved that way apt to prevail by cutting off the giant's head. But what particularity of method would J. S. have me to use? shall I use reason? To that all the world pretends, and it is the sword that cuts on both sides, and it is used in discourses that can, and that cannot satisfy. Shall I use the Scriptures? in that J. S. is pleased to say, the Quakers outdo me? Shall I use the fathers? The Smectymnuans bring fathers against episcopacy. What shall I bring? I know not what yet, but it ought to be something very particular; that is certain. Shall I then bring tradition? will oral tradition do it? I hope J. S. will, for his own and his three or four friends' sake, like that way. But if I should take it, J. S. might very justly say, that I take a method that is common to those discourses, which have in them power to satisfy the understanding, and those which have no such power: whether this method is used or no in discourses satisfactory, let J. S. speak; but I am sure it is used of late in some discourses, which are not satisfactory, and the name of one of them is "Sure Footing." And do not the Greeks pretend tradition against the Roman doctrine of purgatory, the procession of the Holy Ghost, the supremacy of the bishop of Rome? whether right or wrong I inquire not here, but that they do so is evident; and, therefore, neither is it lawful for me to proceed this way, or even then to call my book 'A Dissuasive.'—"For it is plain to common sense, that it can have in it no power of moving the understanding one way or other, unless there be some particularity in the method above what is in others;" which it is certain can never be, because there is no method, but some or other have already taken it. And, therefore, I perceive plainly, my book is not any more to be called a Dissuasive, till I can find out some new way and method, which as yet was never used in Christendom. And, indeed, I am to account myself the more unsuccessful in my well meant endeavours, because J. S. tells us 'that he sees' plainly, that, in the pursuit of truth, 'method is in a manner all;' J. S. hath a method new enough, not so old as Mr. White, and he desires me to get such another; but "nobis non licet esse tam beatis;" and I am the less troubled for it, because J. S.'s method is 'new,' but not 'right,' and I prove it from an argument of his own; "For," saith he, "it is impossible

any controversy should hover long in debate, if a right method of concluding evidently were carefully taken, and faithfully held to." Now because I see that J. S.'s method, or new way, hath made a new controversy, but hath ended none,—but what was before, and what is now is as likely as ever, still 'to hover in debate;' J. S. must needs conclude, that either he hath not faithfully held to it, or his way is good for nothing.

Other things he says here, which though they be rude and uncivil, yet because he repeats them in his Sixth Way, I shall there consider them altogether, if I find cause.

The Fourth Way.

This fourth mine hath, as good luck would have it, nothing of demonstration, nor is his reason founded upon the nature of the thing, as before he boasted, but only 'ad hominem.' But such as it is, it must be considered. The argument is this, "That though I produce testimony from fathers, yet I do not allow them to be infallible, nor yet myself in interpreting Scripture; nor yet do I, with any infallible certainty, see any proposition I go about to deduce by reason, to be necessarily consequent to any first or self-evident principle, and therefore I am certain of nothing I allege in my whole book." The sum is this, 'No man is certain of any thing, unless he be infallible.' I confess I am not infallible, and yet I am certain this must be his meaning, or else his words have no sense; and if I say true in this, then fallibility and certainty are not such incompossible and inconsistent things. But what does J. S. think of himself? is he infallible? I do not well know what he will answer, for he seems to be very near it, if we may guess by the glorious opinion he hath of himself; but I will suppose him more modest than to think he is, and yet he talks at that rate, as if his arguments were demonstrations, and his opinions certainties. Suppose his grounds he goes upon are as true, as I know they are false; yet is he infallible in his reasoning, and deducing from those principles such feat conclusions, as he offers to obtrude upon the world? If his reason be infallible, so it may be, mine is for aught I know, but I never thought it so yet; and yet I know no reason to the contrary; but it is as infallible as

his: but if his be not, it may be all that he says is false; at least he is not sure any thing of it is true; and then he may make use of his own ridiculous speech he[h] made for me, "I know not certainly that any thing I say against your religion, is true," &c. All the men tell us that Cardinal Chigi is now pope, are fallible, they may be deceived, and they may deceive; and yet I suppose Mr. White, though he also be fallible, is sufficiently certain he is so; and if he did make any doubt, if he would sail to Italy, he would be infallibly assured of it by the executioners of the pope's censures, who yet are as fallible as any the officers of Montfalcon.

But J. S. however says, I ought to confess that I ought not to dissuade from any thing, "in case neither the fathers nor myself be infallible in any saying or proof of theirs." For the infallibility of the fathers, I shall have a more convenient time to consider it under his Eighth Way. But now I am to consider his reason for this pretty saying, which he says, 'he evinces thus:'—"Since to be infallible in none, 'hic et nunc,' (taking in the whole complexion of assisting circumstances) is the same as to be 'hic et nunc,' fallible in all or each; and if they be fallible, or may be deceived in each, they can be sure of none, it follows that who professes the fathers and himself (though using all the means he can to secure him from error) fallible in each, must, if he will speak out like an honest man, confess he is sure of none." This is the evident demonstration, and indeed there are in it some things evidently demonstrative. The first is, that to be infallible in none, is the same as to be fallible in all. Indeed I must needs say, that he says true and learnedly, and it being a self-evident principle, he might, according to his custom, have afforded demonstrations enough for this; but I shall take it upon his own word at this time, and allow him the honour of first communicating this secret to the ignorant world; that 'he that is not infallible, is fallible.' Another deep note we have here; his words laid plain, without their parentheses, can best declare the mystery; "If they be infallible, or may be deceived in each, they can be sure of none; it follows that they that profess they are fallible in each, must confess they are sure of none." If J. S. always

[h] Page 258.

write thus subtilely, no man will ever be able to resist him: for indeed this is a demonstration, and therefore we hope it may be 'æternæ veritatis,' for it relies upon this first and self-evident principle, 'idem per idem semper facit idem.' Now having well learned these two deep notes out of the school, and deep discourses of J. S., let us see what the man would be at for himself: and though we find it in his parentheses only, yet they could not be left out, and sense be entire without them.

When he talks of being infallible, if the notion be applied to his church, then he means an infallibility, antecedent, absolute, unconditionate, such as will not permit the church ever to err. And because he thinks such an infallibility to be necessary, for the settling the doubting minds of men; he affirms roundly, if 'infallibility be denied, then no man can be sure of any thing.'—But then when he comes to consider the particulars, and cannot but see, a man may be certain of some things, though he have not that antecedent infallibility, that quality and permanent grace; yet because he will not have his dear notion lost, that 'infallibility and certainty live and die together,' he hath now secretly put in a changeling in the place of the first, and hath excogitated an infallibility 'consequent, conditionate, circumstantiate,' which he calls 'hic et nunc,' 'taking in the whole complexion of assisting circumstances;' now because the first is denied by us to be in any man or company of men, and he perceives, that to be uncertain in every thing, will not be consequent to the want of this first sort, he secretly slides into the second, and makes his consequent to rely upon this deceitfully. And if the argument be put into intelligible terms, it runs thus: If when a whole complexion of assisting circumstances are present; that is, a proposition truly represented, apt to be understood, necessary to be learned, and attended to by a person desirous to learn, when it is taught by sufficient authority, or proved by evidence, or confirmed by reason; when a man hath his eyes and his wits about him, and is sincerely desirous of truth, and to that purpose, himself considers, and he confers with others and prays to God; and the thing itself is also plain and easy; then if a man can be deceived, he is sure of nothing: and this is 'infallibility hic et nunc.' But this is not that which he and

tainty cannot be built upon dead characters, but on living sense in men's hearts delivered from age to age that those passages are true, that is, on tradition, it follows that if the way of tradition can fail, all history is uncertain, and consequently, all instances as being matters of fact, depending on history." To this I answer; that it is true, that there are many instances, in which it is certain that tradition hath failed, as will appear in the following section; and it is as true, that the record of these instances is kept in books, which are very ancient and written by authors so credible, that no man questions the truth of these instances: now I grant that we are told by the words delivered by our forefathers, that these books were written by such men; but then, it may be, our forefathers though they kept the books safe, yet knew not what was written in them; and if all the contents of the books had been left only to rely upon the living sense in their hearts, and the hearts of their posterity, we should have had but few books, and few instances of the failing of tradition, only one great one would have been left, that is, the losing of almost all: that that is now recorded would have been a fatal sign, that tradition's fail was the cause of so sad a loss. It is well, tradition hath helped us to the dead characters; they bear their living sense so within themselves, that it is quickly understood when living men come to read them. But now I demand of J. S. whether or no historical certainty relies only on certain and indefectible tradition? If it does not, then a man may be certain enough of the sacred history, though there be no certain oral tradition "built on living sense in men's hearts, delivered from age to age." If he does, then I must ask whether J. S. does believe Tacitus; or that there was such a man as Agricola, or that the senate decreed that Nero should be punished 'more majorum.' If he does believe these stories, and these persons, then he must also conclude that there is an oral indefectible tradition that Tacitus wrote this book, and that every thing in that book was written by him, and it remains at this day as it was at first, and that all this was not conveyed by dead and unsensed characters, but by living sense in our hearts. But now it will be very hard for any man to say, that there is such an infallible tradition delivering all that Roman story which we believe to be true. No man pre-

tends that there is; and therefore, 1. History may be relied on without a certain indefectible oral tradition. And 2. The tradition that consigns history to after-ages may be, and is so most commonly, nothing but of a fame that such a book was written by such a famous person who lived in that age, and might know the truth of what he wrote, and had no reason to lie, but was in all regards a very worthy and a credible person. Now here is as much certainty as need to be; the thing itself will bear no more; and almost all human affairs are transacted by such an economy as this; and, therefore, it is certain enough, and is so esteemed, because it does all its intentions, and loses no advantage, and persuades effectually, and regularly engages to all those actions and events, which history could do, if the certainty were much greater. For the certainty of persuasion, and prevailing upon the greatest parts of mankind, may be as great by history, wisely and with great probability transmitted, as it can be by any imaginary certainty of a tradition that any dreamer can dream of. Nay, it may be equal to a demonstration; I mean, as to the certainty of prevailing: for a little reason to a little understanding as certainly prevails, as a greater to a deep and inquisitive understanding; and mankind does not need demonstrations in any case, but where reason is puzzled with an 'æquilibrium,' and that there be great probabilities 'hinc inde.' And, therefore, in these cases where is a probability on one side, and no appearance of reason to the contrary, that probability does the work of a demonstration. "For a reason to believe a thing, and no reason to disbelieve it, is as proper a way to persuade and to lead to action as that which is demonstrated." And this is the case of history, and of instances; which though they cannot (no not by an oral tradition) be so certain, as that the thing could not possibly have been otherwise; yet when there is no sufficient cause of suspicion of fraud and imposture, and great reason from any topic to believe that it is true, he is a very fool that will forbear to act upon that account, only because it is possible that that instance might have been not true, though he have no reason to think it false. And yet this foolish sophism runs mightily along in J. S.'s demonstrations, he cannot for his life distinguish between credible and infallible; nothing by him can make

deceived, but that he is infallible, as he is the more liable to error, because by this supposed infallibility he is tempted to a greater inconsideration, so if he be deceived, his recovery is the more desperate. And I desire that it be here observed, that it is one thing to say, 'I cannot be deceived,' and another to say, 'I am sure I am not deceived.' For the first no man can say; but the latter every wise and good man may say if he please; that every man is certain of very many things is evident by all the experience of mankind; and in many things this certainty is equivalent to an infallibility, that is, 'hic et nunc:' and that relies upon this ground (for I must be careful to go upon grounds, for fear of J. S.'s displeasure), "Quicquid est, quamdiu est, necesse est esse;" while a truth prevails, and is invested with the 'whole complexion of assisting circumstances,' it is an actual infallibility, that is, such a certainty 'cui falsum subesse non potest;' for else no man could tell certainly and infallibly, when he is hungry or thirsty, awake or weary; when he hath committed a sin against God, or when he hath told a lie: and he that says a fallible Christian is not infallibly certain, that it is a good thing to say his prayers, and to put his trust in God, and to do good works, knows not what he says.

But besides this, it were well, if J. S. would consider what kind of certainty God requires of us in our faith; for I hope J. S. will then require no more. Our faith is not science, and yet it is certainty; and if the assent be according to the whole design of it, and effects all its purposes and the intention of God, it cannot be accepted, though the ways of begetting that faith be not demonstrative arguments. There had but five or six persons seen Christ after his resurrection, and yet he was pleased to reprove their unbelief, because the disciples did not believe those few who said they had seen him alive. Faith is the foundation of good life; and if a man believe so certainly that he is willing to live in it, and die for it, God requires no more, and there is no need of more; and if a little thing will not do that, what shall become of those innumerable multitudes of Christians, who believe upon grounds which a learned man knows are very weak, but yet are to those people as good as the best, because they are not only the best they have, but they are sufficient to do their work for them. Nay, God is so good, and it is so necessary, in some affairs, to proceed so, that a

man may be certain he does well, though in the proposition, or subject matter, he be deceived. Is not a judge infallibly certain that he does his duty, and proceeds wisely, if he gives sentence 'secundum allegata et probata,' though he be not infallibly certain that the witnesses depose truth. Was not St. Paul in the right, and certainly so, when he said, "it was better for the present necessity, if a virgin did not marry;" and yet he had no revelation, and no oral infallible tradition for it; "this speak I," saith he, "not the Lord;" and he did not talk confidently of his grounds, but said modestly, "I think I have the Spirit of God;" and yet all Christians believe that what he then said, was infallibly enough true. "We see here through a glass darkly," saith the apostle, and yet we see; and what we see we may be certain of, I mean we protestants may; indeed the papists may not, for they denying what they say, call bread a God: so that they do not so much as see darkly, they see not at all; or, what is as bad, they will not believe the thing to be that which their eyes, and three senses more tell them that it is. But it is a wonder that they who dare not trust their senses, should talk of being infallible in their argument.

And now to apply this to the charge J. S. lays on me, "Because I do not profess to be infallible, I am certain in nothing; and without an infallible oral tradition, it is impossible I should be certain of any thing." In answer to this, I demand why I may not be as certain of what I know or believe, as Mr. White or J. S.? Is the doctrine of purgatory-fire between death and the day of judgment, and of the validity of the prayers and masses said in the church of Rome to the freeing of souls from purgatory long before the day of judgment, is this doctrine, I say, delivered by an infallible oral tradition, or no? If no, then the church of Rome either is not certain it is true, or else she is certain of it by some other way than such a tradition. If yea, then how is Mr. White certain that he speaks true in his book 'de statu animarum;' where he teaches that prayers of the church do no good, and free no souls before the day of judgment, for he hath no oral tradition for his opinion; for two oral traditions cannot be certain and infallible, when they contradict one another; and if the traditions be not infallible, as good for these men that they be none at all. So that either Mr. White cannot

be certain of any thing he says, by not relying on oral tradition, or the church of Rome cannot be certain; and therefore he or she may forbear to persuade their friends to any thing. And for my present adversary J. S. who also affirms, that oral tradition of the present church is the whole rule of faith, how can he trust himself or be certain of any thing, or teach any thing, when his church says otherwise than he says, and makes tradition to be but a part of the rule of faith, as is to be seen in the council of Trent itself in the first decree of the fourth session[m]. So that in effect here are two rules of faith, and therefore two churches; Mr. J. S.'s is the 'traditionary' church; so called from relying solely on tradition; the other, which shall we call it for distinction' sake, the 'purgatorian' church, from purgatory; or, if you will, the 'imaginary' church, from worshipping images: and since they do not both follow the same rule of faith, the one making tradition alone to be the ground, the other not so; it will follow by Mr. J. S.'s argument, that either the one or the other, missing the true ground of faith, cannot be certain of any thing that they say. And now when he hath considered these things, let him reckon the advantage which his 'catholic faith gains by the opposition from her adversaries if they be rightly handled,' as Mr. S. hath handled them, and brought to his grounds. But, however the opposition which I have now made, hath its advantages upon the weakness of Mr. White's grounds, and J. S.'s demonstrations, yet I shall, without relation to them, but upon the account of other grounds which his wiser and more learned brethren of the other church do lay, make it appear that there is indeed in the church of Rome no sure footing, no foundation of faith upon which a man can with certainty rely, and say, Now I am infallibly sure that I am in the right.

The Fifth Way.

The Fifth Way, J. S. says, 'is built on the fourth;' which being proved to be a ruinous foundation, I have the less need

[m] Perspiciensque hanc veritatem, et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus — omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, non traditiones, ipsas, &c. pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suspicit et veneratur.

to trouble myself about that which will fall of itself, but because he had no reason to trust that foundation, for all his confidence he is glad to build his Fifth Way on the "Protestants' voluntary concession; for they, granting they have no demonstration for the ground of their faith, must say they have only probability." But I pray, who told J. S. that we grant we have no demonstration for the ground of our faith? Did ever any protestant say, that there is no moral demonstration of his faith? or that it cannot be proved so certain, so infallible, that "the gates of hell shall never prevail against it?" If J. S. will descend so low as to look upon the book of a Protestant, besides many better, he may find in my Cases of Conscience a demonstration of Christian religion[a]; and although it consists of probabilities, yet so many, so unquestioned, so confessed, so reasonable, so uncontradicted, pass into an argument of as much certainty, as human nature without a miracle is capable of; as many sands, heaped together, make a bank strong enough to resist the impetuosity of the raging sea. But I have already shown, upon what certainties our faith relies; and if we had nothing but high probabilities, it must needs be as good as their prudential motives; and, therefore, I shall not repeat any thing, but pass on, to consider what it is he says of our high probabilities, if they were no more: "If there be probabilities on both sides, then the greatest must carry it;"—so he roundly professes; never considering that the latter casuists of his church, I mean those who wrote since Angelus, Silvester, Cordubensis, and Cajetan, do expressly teach the contrary, viz., that of two probabilities, the less may be chosen; and that this is the common and more received opinion. But since J. S. is in the right, let them and he agree it, as we do, if they please. I hope he relates this only to the questions between us, and Rome, and not to the Christian faith; well, but if the matter be only between us, I am well enough content, and the greater probability, that is, the better argument shall carry it; and I will not be asking any more odd questions, as why J. S. having so clearly demonstrated his religion, by grounds firm as the land of Delos, or Old Brasil, he should now be content to argue

[a] Book i.

his cause at the bar of probability? Well; but let us see what he says for his party: "That there is no probability for our side (says J. S.), is very hard to be said; since the whole world sees plainly we still maintain the field against them, nay dare pretend without fearing an absolute baffle, which must needs follow (had we not at least probabilities to befriend us), that our grounds are evidently and demonstrably certain." Here J. S. seems to be afraid again of his probabilities, that he still runs to covert under his broad shield of demonstration: but his 'postulatum' here is indeed very modest: he seems to desire us to allow that there are some probable things to be said for his side, and indeed he were very hard-hearted that should say, there are none at all; some probabilities we shall allow, but no grounds evidently and demonstratively certain: good sir, and yet let me tell you this, there are some of your propositions, for which there is no probable reason or fair pretence in the world: nothing that can handsomely or ingeniously deceive a man: such as is your half-communion, worship of images, prayers not understood, and some others. And, therefore, you may be ashamed to say, you still maintain the field against us; for if you do not, why do you say you do? But if you still maintain the field, you may be more ashamed, for why will you stand in a falsehood, and then call yourselves equal combatants, if not conquerors? But you may, if you please, look after victory; I am only in the pursuit of truth.

But to return; it seems he knows my mind for this, and in my liberty of prophesying, "my own words will, beyond all confute, evince it, that they have probabilities, and those strong ones too." But now (in my conscience) this was unkindly done, that when I had spoken for them what I could, and more than I knew that they had ever said for themselves, and yet to save them harmless from the iron hands of a tyrant and unreasonable power, to keep them from being persecuted for their errors and opinions, that they should take the arms I had lent them for their defence, and throw them at my head. But the best of it is, though J. S. be unthankful, yet the weapons themselves are but wooden daggers, intended only to represent how the poor men are cozened by themselves, and that, under fair and

fraudulent pretences, even pious, well-meaning men, and men wise enough 'in other things,' may be abused: and though what I said was but tinsel and pretence, imagery and whipt cream, yet I could not be blamed to use no better than the best their cause would bear; yet, if that be the best they have to say for themselves, their probabilities will be soon outbalanced by one Scripture testimony, urged by Protestants; and 'Thou shalt not worship any graven images,' will outweigh all the best and fairest imaginations of their church. But since from me they borrow their light armour, which is not pistol-proof,—from me, if they please, they may borrow a remedy to undeceive them, and that in the same kind and way of arguing. If J. S. please to read a letter or two of mine to a gentlewoman, not long before abused in her religion by some Roman emissaries, there he shall see so very much said against the Roman way, and that in instances evident and notorious, that J. S. may, if he please, (he hath my leave) put them in balance against one another, and try which will preponderate. They are printed now in one volume°, and they are the easier compared. But then J. S. might, if he had pleased, have considered, that I did not intend to make that harangue, to represent, that the Roman religion had probabilities of being true, but probabilities that the religion might be tolerated, or might be endured, that is, as I there expressed it, whether the doctrines be commenced upon design, and managed with impiety, and have effects not to be endured; and, concerning these things, I amassed a heap of considerations, by which it might appear probable, that they were not so bad as to be intolerable; and if I was deceived, it was but a well-meant error, hereafter they shall speak for themselves; only for their comfort, this they might have also observed in that book, that there is not half so much excuse for the papists, as there is for the anabaptists; and yet it was but an excuse at the best, as appears in those full answers I have given to all their arguments, in the last edition of that book, amongst the polemical discourses in folio.

° Collection of Polemical and Moral Discourses.

I shall need to say no more for the spoiling this mine; for J. S. hath not so much as pretended, that the probabilities, urged for them, can outweigh or come to equal what is said against them; and I humbly suppose, that the difficulties will be increased by the following book.

The Sixth and Seventh Ways.

THE Sixth mine is most likely at the worst to prove but a squib. J. S. says, 'I should have made a preface, and beforehand have proved that all the arguments I used, were unanswerable, and convictive;' which indeed were a pretty way of making books; to make a preface to make good my book, and then my book cannot, but in thankfulness, make good the preface; which, indeed, is something like the way of the Scriptures. But he adds, that I was bound to say, "That they were never pretended to be answered, or could not, or that the protestants had the last word." But on the contrary I acknowledge, that "the evidences on both sides have been so often produced, that it will seem almost impossible to bring in new matter, or to prevail with the old." This is the great charge, the sum of which is truly this. I have spoken modestly of my own undertaking, and yet I had so great reason to deplore the obstinacy of the Roman priests, their pertinacity, and incorrigible resolution of seeming to say something, when they can say nothing to the purpose, that I had cause to fear, the event would not be so successful as the merit of our cause, and the energy of the arguments might promise. I confess I did not run as J. S. does, and talk high of demonstrations, and unmistakable grounds, and scientifical principles, and metaphysical nothings; but, according as my undertaking required, I proceeded upon principles agreed on both sides. If Scripture and fathers, councils and reasons, the analogy of faith, and the doctrines of the primitive church (from which I proved, and shall yet more clearly prove, the church of Rome hath greatly revolted) will not prevail, I have done; I shall only commit the cause to God, and the judgment of wise and good men, and so sit down in the peace of my own persuasions, and

in a good conscience, that I have done my endeavour to secure our own people from the temptation, and to 'snatch' others as brands from the fire!

Only I wish here, I had found a little more worthiness in J. S., than to make me speaking that I have brought nothing but common objections, or nothing new: I suppose they that are learned, know this to be a calumny; and by experience they and I find, that whether the objections be new or old, it is easier to rail at them all, than answer any. To this, as it is not needful to say any more, so there cannot any thing else well be said, unless I should be vain, like the man whom I now reprove, and go about to commend myself, which is a practice I have neither reason nor custom for.

But the Seventh Way is yet worse. For it is nothing but a direct declamation against my book, and the quotations of it, and having made a ridiculous engine of corollaries in his 'Sure Footing' against the quotations in Dr. P.'s sermon, without meaning my book, for that came out a pretty while after; he does like the twopenny almanack makers, though he calculated it for the meridian of the court sermon (as he calls it), yet, without any sensible error, it may serve for Ireland: it may be, J. S. had an oral tradition, for this way of proceeding, especially having followed so authentic a president for it, as the author of the two sermons called 'the primitive rule before the reformation,' who goes upon the same infallible and thrifty way, saying, "These two tracts, as they are named sermons, are an answer to Dr. Pierce; but as they may better be styled two common places, so they are a direct answer to Dr. Taylor." So that here are two things which are sermons and no sermons, as you please, not sermons, but common places; and yet they are not altogether common places, but they, in some sense, are sermons; unless 'sermon,' and 'common place' happen to be all one; but how the same thing should be an answer to Dr. P., as he gives them one name,—and by giving them another name, to the same purpose should be a direct answer to me, who speak of other matters, and by other arguments, and to other purposes, and in another manner,—I do not yet understand. But I suppose it be meant as in J. S.'s way, and that it relies upon this

first, and a self-evident principle, "That the same thing, when called by another name, is apt to do new and wonderful things." It is a piece of Mr. White's, and J. S.'s new metaphysics, which we silly men have not the learning to understand. But it matters not what they say, so they do but stop the mouths of the people, that call upon them to say something to every new book,—that they may, without apparent lying, tell them the book is answered. For, 'to answer or confute,' means nothing with them but 'to speak the last word.'

Well! but so it is, J. S. hath ranged a great many of my quotations under heads, and says, 'so many are confuted by the first corollary, and so many by the second, and so on to the ninth and tenth, and some of them are raw and unapplied, some set for show, and some not home to the point, and some wilfully represented, and these come under the second or third head, and perhaps of divers of the others.'—To all this I have one short answer; that the quotations which he reduces under the first head, or the second, or the third, might, for aught appears, be ranked under any other, as well as these; for he hath proved none to belong to any; but magisterially points with his finger, and directs them to their several stations of confutation. Thus he supposes I am confuted, by an argument of his, next to that of 'Mentiris, Bellarmine.' And, indeed, in this way, it were easy to confute Bellarmine's three volumes with the labour of three pages' writing. But this way was most fit to be taken by him, who quotes the fathers by oral tradition, and not ocular inspection; however, if he had not particularly considered these things, he ought not generally to have condemned them, before he tried. But this was an old trick, and noted of some by S. Cyprian[p], "Viderint autem qui vel furori suo vel libidini servientes, et divinæ legis ac sanctitatis immemores, jactitare interim gestiunt quæ probare non possunt, et cum innocentiam destruere atque expugnare non valeant, satis habent fama mendacii et falsorum ore maculas inspergere." I have neither will nor leisure to follow him in this extravagancy; it will, I hope, be to better purpose, that, in the following sections,

[p] Cornelio Fr. epist. 42. edit. Rigalt. Paris. 1648.

I shall justify all my quotations, against his, and the calumnies of some others; and press them and others beyond the objections of the wiser persons of his church, from whence these new men have taken their answers, and made use of them to little purposes; and, therefore, I shall now pass over the particulars of the quotations, referring them to their places, and consider if there be any thing more material in his Eighth Way, by which he pretends to blow up my grounds and my arguments, derived from reason.

The Eighth Way.

THE Eighth Way is to pick out the principles I rely on, and to show their weakness. It is well this eighth way is a great distance off from his first way, or else J. S. would have no excuse for forgetting himself so palpably, having at first laid to my charge that I went upon "no grounds, no principles." But, I perceive, principles might be found in "The Dissuasive," if the man had a mind to it; "nay, main and fundamental principles, and self-evident" to me. And yet such is his ill luck, that he picks out such which he himself says I do not call so: and even here also he is mistaken too; for the first he instances is 'Scripture;' and this, not only I, but all protestants acknowledge to be the foundation of our whole faith. But of this, he says, we shall discourse afterwards.

The second principle I rely upon, at least, he says I seem to do so, is, "We all acknowledge that the whole church of God kept the faith entire, and transmitted faithfully to after-ages the whole faith." Well, what says he to this principle? He says, this principle, as to the positive part, is good, and assertive of tradition: it is so of the apostolical tradition; for they delivered the doctrine of Christ to their successors, both by preaching and by writing. And what hath J. S. got by this? Yes, give him but leave to suppose that this delivery of the doctrine of Christ was only by oral tradition for the three first ages (for he is pleased so to understand the extent of the primitive church), and then he will infer "that the third age could deliver it to the fourth, and that to the fifth, and so to us: if they were able, there is no question but they were

willing, for it concerned them to be so, and, therefore, it was done." Though all this be not true, for we see, by a sad experience, that too few in the world are willing to do what it concerns them most to do,—yet, for the present, I grant all this. And what then? 'Therefore oral tradition is the only rule of faith.' Soft and fair;—therefore the third age delivered it to the fourth, and so on; but not all the particulars by oral tradition, but by the holy Scriptures, as I shall largely prove in the proper place. But to J. S. the bells ring no tune but Whittington.

A third principle he says is this, "The present Roman doctrines, which are in difference, were invisible and unheard of in the first and best antiquity." I know not why he calls this one of my principles, unless all my propositions be principles, as all his arguments are demonstrations. It is, indeed, a conclusion which I have partly, and shall, in the sequel, largely make good. In the meantime, whether it be principle or conclusion, let us see what is objected against it, or what use is made of it: for J. S. says it is "an improved and a main position." But then he tells us, the reason of it is, because "no heretic had arisen in those days denying those points; and so the fathers set not themselves to write expressly for them, but occasionally only." Let us consider what this is; "No heretic had arisen in those days denying these points:"—True; but many catholics did, and the reason why no heretics did deny those things, was, because neither catholic nor heretic ever affirmed them. Well! but however "the Roman controvertists are frequent for citing them for divers points." Certainly not for making vows to saints; not for the worship of images; not for the half communion; for these they do not frequently cite the fathers of the first three hundred years: it may be not;—"but for the ground of our faith, the church's voice or tradition they do, to the utter overthtow of the protestant cause."—They do, indeed, sometimes cite something from them for tradition; and wherever the word 'tradition' is in Scripture, or the primitive fathers, they think it is an argument for them, just as the covenanters, in the late wars, thought all Scripture was their plea, wherever the word covenant was named. But to how little purpose they pretend to take advantage of any of the primitive fathers speaking of tradition, I shall en-

deavour to make apparent in an inquiry made on purpose, Sect. 3. In the mean time, it appears, that this conclusion of mine was to very good purpose, and, in a manner, confessed to be true in most instances; and that it was so in all, was not intended by me.

Well! but however it might be in the three first ages, yet he observes that I said, that "in the succeeding ages secular interest did more prevail, and the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous, and many things more, that both sides, eternally and inconfutably, shall bring sayings for themselves respectively."—And is not all this very true? He cannot deny it; but what then? Why, then he says, "I may speak out and say, all the fathers, after the first three hundred years, are not worth a straw in order to decision or controversy; and the fathers of the first three hundred years spoke not of our points in difference, and so there is a fair end of all the fathers, and of my own 'Dissuasive' too; for that part which relies on them, which looks like the most authoritative piece of it:" there is no great hurt in this; if the fathers be gone, my 'Dissuasive' may go too; it cannot easily go in better company, and I shall take the less care of it, because I have J. S.'s word, that there is a part of it which relies upon the fathers. But if the fathers be going, it is fit we look after them, and see which way they go: for if they go together, as in many things they do, they are of very good use in order to decision of controversy; if they go several ways, and, consequently, that controvertists may 'eternally and irrefutably bring sayings out of them against one another,'—who can help it? No man can follow them all; and then it must be tried by some other topic, which is best to follow; but then that topic, by itself, would have been sufficient to have ended the question. Secondly; If a disputer of this world pretends to rely upon the authority of the fathers, he may by them be confuted or determined. The church of Rome pretends to this, and, therefore, if we perceive the fathers have condemned doctrines, which they approve of, or approve what they condemn, which, we say, in many articles is the case of that church, then 'The Dissuasive' might be very useful, and so might the fathers too, for the condemnation of such doctrines, in which the Roman church is, by that touchstone, found to blame.

And whereas J. S. says, that the three first ages of Christianity meddled not with the present controversies; it is but partly true, for although many things are, nowadays, taught, of which they never thought, yet some of the errors which we condemn, were condemned then; very few, indeed, by disputation, but not a few by positive sentence, and in explications of Scripture, and rational discourses, and by parity of case, and by catechetical doctrines. For 'rectum est index sui et obliqui;' they have, without thinking of future controversies and new emergent heresies, said enough to confute many of them when they shall arise. The great use of the fathers, especially of the first three hundred years, is to tell us what was first, to consign Scripture to us, to convey the creed, with simplicity and purity to preach Christ's Gospel, to declare what is necessary, and what not: and whether they be fallible or infallible; yet if we find them telling and accounting the integrity of the Christian faith, and treading out the paths of life; because they are persons whose conversation, whose manners and time of living; whose fame and martyrdom, and the venerable testimony of after-ages, have represented to be very credible,—we have great reason to believe that alone to be the faith, which they have described, and, consequently, that whatever comes in afterwards, and is obtruded upon the world, as it was not their way of going to heaven, so it ought not to be ours. So that here is great use of the fathers' writings, though they be not infallible, and, therefore, I wonder at the prodigious confidence (to say no worse) of J. S. to dare to say, that, "as appears by the Dissuader, the protestants neither acknowledge them infallible nor useful; nay, that this is my fourth principle." He that believes transubstantiation, can believe any thing; and he that says this, dares say every thing; for as that is infinitely impossible to sense and reason, so this is infinitely false in his own conscience and experience. And the words, which, in a few lines of his bold assertion, he hath quoted out of my book, confute him but too plainly. "He tells us," so saith J. S. "the fathers are a good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them, of what the church esteemed the way of salvation." Do not I also (though he is pleased to take no notice of it) say, that "although we acknowledge not the fathers 'as the authors

and finishers of our faith,' yet we own them as helpers of our faith, and heirs of the doctrine apostolical: that we make use of their testimonies as being (as things now stand) to the sober and the moderate, the peaceable and the wise, the best, the most certain, visible, and tangible, most humble and satisfactory, to them that know well how to use it." Can he, that says this, not acknowledge the fathers useful? I know not whether J. S. may have any credit as he is one of the fathers, but as he is a witness, no man hath reason to take his word.

But to the thing in question: Whatever we protestants think or say, yet J. S. saith, "Our constant and avowed doctrine," meaning of the church of Rome, "is, that the testimony of fathers, speaking of them properly as such, is infallible." If this be the avowed doctrine of the Roman church, then I shall prove, that one of the avowed doctrines of that church is false: and, secondly, I shall also prove, that many of the most eminent doctors of the church are not of that mind; and, therefore, it is not the constant doctrine, as, indeed, amongst them, few doctrines are.

1. It is false that 'the testimony of the fathers, speaking of them properly as such, is infallible.' For 'God only is true, and every man a liar;" and since the fathers never pretended to be assisted by a supernatural miraculous aid, or inspired by an infallible spirit; and infallibility is so far beyond human nature and industry, that the fathers may be called angels much rather than infallible; for if they were assisted by an infallible spirit, what hinders but that their writings might be canonical Scriptures? And if it be said they were assisted infallibly in some things, and not in all, it is said to no purpose; for unless it be infallibly known where the infallibility resides, and what is so certain as it cannot be mistaken, every man must tread fearfully, for he is sure the ice is broken in many places, and he knows not where it will hold. It is certain St. Austin did not think the fathers before him to be infallible, when it is plain that in many doctrines, as in the damnation of infants dying unbaptized, and especially in questions occurring in the disputes against the Pelagians about free-will and predestination, without scruple he rejected the doctrines of his predecessors. And when, in

a question between himself and St. Jerome, about St. Peter and the second chapter to the Galatians, he was pressed with the authority of six or seven Greek fathers, he roundly answered, that he gave no such honour to any writers of books, but to the Scriptures, only as to think them not to have erred; other authors he read so as to believe them, if they were proved by Scriptures or probable reason. Not because they thought so, but because he thought them proved. And he appeals to St. Jerome[q], whether he were not of the same mind concerning his own works. And for that St. Jerome hath given satisfaction to the world, in divers places of his own writings: "I suppose Origen is, for his learning, to be read as Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, and some writers, Greek and Latin, that we choose out that which is good, and avoid the contrary[r]." So that it is evident the fathers themselves have no conceit of the infallibility of themselves or others,—the prophets, and apostles, and evangelists only excepted; and, therefore, if this be an avowed doctrine of the Roman church, there is no oral tradition for it, no first and self-evident principle to prove it; and either the fathers are deceived in saying they are fallible, or they are not: if they be deceived in saying so, then that sufficiently proves that they can be deceived, and, therefore, that they are not infallible; but if they be not deceived in saying that they are fallible, then it is certain that they are fallible, because they say they are, and in saying so are not deceived. But then, if in this the fathers are not deceived, then the church of Rome, in one of her avowed doctrines, is deceived, saying otherwise of the fathers than is true, and contrary to what themselves said of themselves.

But, 2. If it be the avowed doctrine of the church of Rome (as J. S. says it is), yet, I am sure, it is not their constant doctrine. Certain it is, St. Austin was not infallible, for he retracted some things he had said; and in Gratian's time, neither St. Austin nor any of the fathers were esteemed

[q] Ep. S. Aug. ad Hieron. quæ est 19.; inter opera Hieron. 97.; et multis aliis locis.

[r] S. Hieron. lib. ii. Apolog. contr. Ruff.; epist. 62. ad Theoph. Alex. epist. 65. ad Pammach. et Ocean.; et epist. 76. ad Tranquil. epist. 13. ad Paulinum; et Præfat. in lib. de Hebr. Nomin.

infallible, and this appears in nine chapters together of the ninth distinction of Gratian's decree[a]; but because this truth was too plain to serve the interest of the following ages; the gloss upon cap. 'Nolo meis,' tells us plainly, "That this was to be understood according to those times, when the works of St. Austin and of the other holy fathers were not authentic, but now all of them are commanded to be held to the last tittle;" and a marginal note upon the gloss says, "Scripta Sanctorum sunt ad unguem observanda." So that here is a plain variety, and no constant oral tradition from St. Austin's time downwards, that his and the fathers' writings were infallible; till Gratian's time it was otherwise, and after him, till the gloss was written. It is, as Solomon says, "There is a time for every thing under the sun." There is a time in which the writings of the fathers are authentic, and a time in which they are not: but then this is not settled, no constant business. Now I would fain know, whether Gratian spake the sense of the church of his age or no? If no, then the fathers were of one mind, and the church of his age of a contrary; and then which of them was infallible? But if yea, then how comes the present church to be of another mind now? And which of the two ages, that contradict each other, hath got the ball? Which of them carries the infallibility? Well, however it comes to pass,—yet the truth is, J. S. does wrong to his own church, and they never decreed or affirmed the fathers to be infallible. And, therefore, the glossator upon Gratian was an ignorant man, and his gloss ridiculous, "Ecce quales sunt decretorum glossatores, quibus tanta fides adhibetur;" said 'A Castro;—and Duns Scotus gave a good character of them; "Mittunt et remittunt, et tandem nihil ad propositum." But the mistake of this ignorant glossator is apparent to be upon the account of the words of Gelasius, 'in dist. 15. cap. Sancta Rom. Eccl.;' where, when he had reckoned divers of the fathers' writings, which the church receives, he hath these words, "Item epistola B. Leonis papæ ad Flavianum episcopum Constantinopolitanum destinatum, cujus textum aut unum iota si quisquam idiota disputaverit, et non eam in omnibus venerabiliter acceperit, anathema sit."

[a] Dist. 9. Decret. cap. Nolo meis.

Now although this reaches not near to infallibility, but only to a 'non disputare,' and a 'venerabiliter accipere,' and that by idiots only, and, therefore, can do J. S. no service; yet this, which Gelasius speaks of, St. Leo's epistle to Flavianus, the glossator, falsely applies to all the works of the fathers, against the mind of the fathers themselves, quoted by Gratian in the ninth distinction, and against the sense of Gelasius himself, in that very chapter which he refers to in the fifteenth distinction. It may be, J. S. had not so much to say for his bold proposition as this itself comes to, which if he had ever seen, he must needs have seen, in the same place, very much to the contrary. But that not only the fathers themselves have taught him to speak more modestly of them than he does, and that divers leading men of his church have reproved this foolish affirmative of his, he may be satisfied, if he please to read Aquinas[t]: "Auctoritatibus canonicæ Scripturæ utitur sacra doctrina ex necessitate argumentando, auctoritatibus autem aliorum doctorum ecclesiæ quasi arguendo ex propriis sed probabiliter." Now I know not what hopes of escaping J. S. can have by his restrictive terms, "the testimony of fathers, speaking of them properly as such:" for besides that the words mean nothing, and the testimony of fathers is the testimony of 'fathers as such,' or it is just nothing at all: besides this I say, that Aquinas affirms that their whole authority (and, therefore, of fathers as such) is only probable, and, therefore, certainly not infallible. But this is so fond a proposition of J. S. that I am ashamed to speak any more of it; and if he were not very ignorant of what his church holds, he would never have said it. But for his better information, I desire the gentleman to read Alphonsus à Castro[u], Melchior Canus[x], and Bellarmine[y].

It is not, therefore, the constant doctrine of the Romanists, that the fathers are infallible; for I never read or heard any man say it but J. S.; and neither is it the avowed doctrine of that church, unless he will condemn all them for heretics, that deny it; some of which I have already named, and more will be added upon this occasion.

[t] Primâ parte q. 1. art. 8. ad 2. arg.
[u] Lib. i. adv. Hæres. c. 7.
[x] Lib. vii. Loc. Theol. c. 3. n. 4. &c.
[y] De Verb. Dei, lib. iii. c. 10. sect. Dices.

Well! but how shall we know that the fathers' testimony is a testimony of 'fathers, speaking properly as such?' for this doughty question we are to inquire after in the pursuit of J. S.'s mines and crackers: he says, in two cases they speak as fathers. 1. "When they declare it the doctrine of the present church of their time. 2. When they write against any man as a heretic, or his tenet as heresy." It seems then, in these the fathers' testimony is infallible. Let us try this: 1. All or any thing of this may be done by fathers supposed such, but really not so: and if it be not infallibly certain which are and which are not the writings of the fathers, we are nothing the nearer though it were agreed, that the true fathers' testimony is infallible. Or, 2. If the book alleged was the book of the father pretended, and not of an obscure or heretical person; yet, it may be, the words are interpolated, or the testimony some way or other corrupted; and then the testimony is not infallible, when there is no absolute certainty of the witnesses themselves, or the records: and what causes there are of rejecting very many, and doubting more; and, therefore, in matters of present interest and question of uncertainty and fallibility in too many, is known to every learned man, and confessed by writers of both sides. 2. It is very seldom that any of the fathers do use that expression of saying, 'This or this is the doctrine of the church;' and, therefore, if they speak as fathers, never but when these two cases happen; the writings of the fathers will be of very little use in J. S.'s way. 3. And yet after all this, if we shall descend to instances, J. S. will not dare to justify what he says. Was Justin Martyr infallible, when he said, that all Christians, who were pure believers, did believe the millenary doctrine? Certainly they were the church, for the others, he says, were such as denied the resurrection. But was Gennadius or else St. Austin fathers? and they infallible in the book 'De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' in which he intends to give an account of the doctrine of the church? J. S. seems to acknowledge it, by affirming a saying out of that book to have been then 'de fide;' which because it had been opposed by very many of the fathers, he had no reason to affirm, but upon the witness of Gennadius putting it into his book of Ecclesiastical Doctrines; and he afterwards calls it the "tes-

timony of Gennadius delivering the doctrine of the catholic church[z]." It is there said, "That all men shall die (Christ only excepted), that death might reign from Adam upon all." "Hanc rationem, maxima patrum turba tradente, suscepimus:" "This account we have received from the tradition of the greatest company of the fathers."—If this be a tradition delivered by the greatest number of the fathers, then, 1. Tradition is not a sure rule of faith; for this tradition is false, and expressly against Scripture: and, 2. It follows that tradition was not then esteemed a sure rule of faith; for although this was a tradition from so great a troop of fathers, as he says it was, yet there were, in his time, "alii æque catholici et eruditi viri," "others, as good catholics and as learned," that believed, as St. Paul believed, that 'we shall not all die, but we shall all be changed;' and however it be, yet all that troop of fathers he speaks of, from whence the tradition came, were not infallible, for they were actually deceived. Now this instance is of great consideration and force against J. S.'s first and self-evident principle concerning oral tradition. For all that number of fathers, if the rule of faith had been only oral tradition, would horribly have disturbed the pure current of tradition, and, of necessity, must have prevailed in J. S.'s way, or at least the contrary (which is the truth, and expressly affirmed in Scripture) could never have had the irrefragable testimony of oral tradition. But, thanks be to God, in this the church adhered to 'the surer word of prophecy,' the Scripture proved the surer rule of faith. But again St. Austin or Gennadius says, "That, after Christ's resurrection, the souls of all the saints are with Christ; and that going forth from the body, they go to Christ expecting the resurrection of their bodies." This he delivers as the ecclesiastical doctrine; and do the patrons of purgatory believe him in this to be infallible? For my part, I think St. Austin is in the right; but I think J. S. will not grant this to be the avowed and constant doctrine of his church.

The second case, in which they speak as fathers, is when they write against any man as a heretic, or his tenet as heresy. But this is so notoriously false, as nothing is more;

[z] Page 315.

and it is infinitely confuted by all the catalogues and books of the fathers reckoning the heresies; where they are pleased to call all opinions they like not, by the names of heresy. Philastrius[a] writes against them as heretics, and puts them in his black catalogue, who expounds that of making man in the image and likeness of God, spoken of in Genesis, to signify the reasonable soul, and not rather the grace of the Holy Spirit. He also accounts them heretics who rejected the Seventy, and followed the translation of Aquila, which, in the ancient church, was in great reputation. Some there were who said that "God hardened the heart of Pharaoh[b];" and these he calls heretics, and yet this heresy is the very words of Scripture: and some are reckoned heretics for saying that the deluge of Deucalion and Pyrrha was before Noah's flood[c]. But more considerable is that heresy[d], which affirmed that "Christ descended into hell, and there preached to the detained, that they who would confess him, might be saved." Now if Philastrius, or any other writer of heretics, were, in this case, infallible, what shall become of many of the orthodox fathers, who taught this now condemned doctrine. So did Clemens Alexandrinus, Anastasius Sinaita, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and divers others of the most eminent fathers; and St. Austin affirmed that Christ did save some; but whether all the damned then or no, he could not resolve Euodius, who asked the question[e]. That it was not lawful for Christians to swear at all upon any account, was unanimously taught by St. Hilary, and St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and Theophylact[f], no, not "cum exigitur jus-jurandum, aut cum urget necessitas;" and that it is 'crimen gehenna dignum,' 'a damnable sin.' Whether that was the doctrine of the church of Rome in those days, I say not; but if it were, why is the church of Rome of a contrary judgment now? If it were not, then a consenting testimony of many fathers, even of the greatest rank, is no irrefragable argument of the truth, or catholic tradition; and from so great an union of such an authority, it was not very hard to imagine, that the opinion

[a] Hæres. 90. [b] Hæres. 77. [c] Hæres. 71. [d] Hæres. 74.

[e] Vide Jacob. Usser. Primat. Hibern. cap. de Limbo Pontif.

[f] Vide Erasmum in Declarat. ad Censuras Facult. Theol. Paris. p. 52. edit. Froben. A. D. 1532.

might have become catholic; from a lesser spring greater streams have issued; but it is more than probable, that there was no catholic oral tradition concerning this main and concerning article; and I am sure J. S. will think, that all these fathers were not only fallible, but deceived actually in this point.

By these few instances we may plainly see, what little of infallibility there is in the fathers' writings, when they write against heretics or heresies, or against any article; and how then shall we know that the fathers are at all, or in any case infallible? I know not from any thing more that is said by J. S. But this I know, that many chief men of his side do speak so slightly, and undervalue the fathers so pertly, that I fear it will appear that the protestants have better opinion of them, and make better use of the fathers than themselves. What think we of the saying of Cardinal Cajetan[g]? "If you chance to meet with any new exposition which is agreeable to the text, &c. although perhaps it differ from that which is given by the whole current of the holy doctors, I desire the readers that they would not too hastily reject it." And again; "Let no man therefore reject a new exposition of any passage of Scripture, under pretence that it is contrary to what the ancient doctors gave."—What think we of those words of Petavius? "There are many things by the most holy fathers scattered, especially St. Chrysostom in his homilies, which if you would accommodate to the rule of exact truth, they will seem to be void of good sense[h]."—And again; "there is cause why the authority of certain fathers should be objected, for they can say nothing but what they have learned from St. Luke; neither is there any reason, why we should rather interpret St. Luke by them, than those things which they say by St. Luke[i]."—And Maldonate[k] does expressly reject the exposition, which all the authors which he had read, except St. Hilary, give of those words of Christ, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."—Michael Nedina[l] accuses St. Jerome as being of the Arian heresy in the question of episcopacy, and he proceeds

[g] Præfat. in Pentateuch.
[h] In Epiph. p. 244.
[i] P. 110.
[k] In Matt. xvi. 18.
[l] De Sacr. Tom. Orig. et Continentiâ, apud Bellar. de Cler. lib. i. c. 15. Vide etiam Hist. Conc. Trident. lib. vii. In Epist. ad Rom. c. 14.

further to accuse St. Ambrose, St. Austin, Sedúlius, Primasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcumenius, and Theophylact, of the same heresy. And Cornelius Mussus, the bishop of Bitonto, expressly affirms, that he had rather believe one single pope, than a thousand Austins, Jeromes, or Gregories. I shall not need any further to instance how the council of Trent hath decreed many things against the general doctrines of the fathers; as in the placing images in churches; the denying of the eucharist to infants; the not including the blessed Virgin Mary in the general evil of mankind in the imputation of Adam's sin, denying the chalice to the laity, and priests not officiating, the beatification and divine vision of saints before the day of judgment. If it were not notorious, and sometimes confessed, that these things are contrary to the sense of a troop of fathers, there might be some excuse made for them, who give them good words, and yet reject their authorities so freely, that it sometimes seems to pass into scorn. But now it appears to be to little purpose, that the council of Trent[m] enjoins her clergy, that they offer not to expound Scripture against the unanimous consent of the fathers; for,—though this amounts not to the height of J. S.'s saying, it is their avowed and constant doctrine, that they are infallible, but 'ad coercenda petulantia ingenia,'—the contrary is done and avowed every day. And as the fathers proved themselves fallible, both as such in writing against heretics, and in testifying concerning the church's doctrine in their age; so in the interpretations of Scripture, in which, although there be no universal consent of fathers in any interpretation of Scripture, concerning which questions moved; so the best and most common consent that is, men of great note recede from it with the greater boldness, by how much they hope to raise themselves the greater reputation for wit and learning. And, therefore, although in the sixth general council[n], the Origenists were condemned, for bringing in interpretations differing from those that went before them; and in the synod in Trullo[o], all curates of souls were commanded to interpret Scriptures, so as not to transgress the bounds and tradition of the

[m] Sess. 4. [n] Sess. 11.

[o] Canon. 19. ex Divinâ Scripturâ colligentes intelligentias.

fathers; and the same was the way taken in the council of Vienna, and commanded since in the Lateran under Leo X., and at last in Trent,—yet all this was but good advice, which when the following doctors pretended to follow, they nevertheless still took their liberty, and went their own way, and if they followed some of the fathers, they receded from many others; for none of them esteemed the way infallible; but they that did not think their own way better, left their own reason and followed their authority. But of late, 'knowledge is increased,'—at least many writers think so; and though the ancient interpretations were more honoured, than new; yet Salmeron[p] says plainly, "that the younger doctors are better sighted and more perspicacious." And the question being about the conception of the blessed Virgin, without original sin; against which a multitude of fathers are brought: the Jesuit answers the argument with the words in Exodus xxiii. "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to sin." And to the same purpose St. Austin[q] answered the Donatists. But of this I shall afterwards have occasion to speak more particularly. In the mean time, it must needs be acknowleged, that the protestants cannot more slight the fathers, than the Jesuits do, and divers other doctors of the church of Rome; though I think both of them do equally think them to be fallible.

Well! but at last, of what use are the fathers to protestants in their writings? And what use do I or can I make of them in my 'Dissuasive?' First for the protestants, the church of England can very well account by her canon, in which she follows the council in Trullo, and the sixth general synod, and ties her doctors, as much as the council of Trent does, to expound Scriptures according to the sense of the ancient fathers; and indeed it is the best way for most men, and it is of great use to all men so to do. For the fathers were good men and learned; and interest, and partiality, and error had not then invaded the world so much, as they have since done. The papacy, that great fountain of error and servile learning, had not so debauched the world; and all that good which can be supposed could be ministered by the piety and learning of so many excellent persons, all that we

[p] In Epist. ad Rom. v. disp. 51. p. 468. [q] Lib. contr. Donat.

can use, and we do make use of it upon all just occasions. They speak reason and religion in their writings; and when they do so, we have reason to make use of the good things, which by their labours God intended to convey to us. They were better than other men, and wiser than most men, and their authority is not at all contemptible, but in most things highly to be valued: and is at the worst a very probable inducement. Are not the books of the canonists and casuists, in a manner, little else than a heap of quotations out of their predecessors' writings? Certainly we have much more reason to value the authority of the ancient fathers.

And now since J. S. requires an account from me in particular, and thinks I have no right to use them; I shall render him an account of this also. But first let us see what his charge is[r]. He says, indeed, I tell him, that the 'fathers are a good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them of what the church esteemed the way of salvation.' I did tell them so indeed; and in the same place I said, 'That we admit the fathers, as admirable helps for the understanding of the Scriptures.' I told them both these things together; and therefore J. S. may blush with shame for telling us, that it "appears by 'the Dissuader,' that the protestants do not acknowledge the fathers infallible or useful." But then in what degree of usefulness the fathers are admitted by us, we may perceive by the instances, of which the one being the interpretation of Scriptures, it is evident, because of their great variety and contrariety of interpretations, we do not admit them as infallible, but yet of admirable use; so in the testimony which they give of the doctrines of their forefathers concerning the way of salvation, we give as great credit as can be due to any relator, except him that is infallible.

——— Pro magna teste vetustas
Creditur: acceptam parce movere fidem[s].

Nay, we go something further; for though in asserting and affirming, in teaching and delivering positively, we do believe them with great veneration, but not without liberty and inquiry; yet when we make use of them in a negative way, we

[r] Page 312. [s] Ovid. Fast. iv. 203. Clerig. p. 206.

find use of them, much nearer to infallibility, than all the demonstrations of 'Sure Footing.' For the argument lies thus[t]: "In the ages succeeding the three first, secular interest did much prevail; the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous, full of controversy and ambiguous senses, fitted to their own times and questions, full of proper opinions and such variety of sayings, that both sides eternally and inconfutably shall bring sayings for themselves respectively." This ground I lay of the ensuing argument, and upon this I build immediately; that things being thus, that is, in the ages succeeding the three first (the primitive and purest) the case being so vastly changed, the books so vast, the words so many, the opinions so proper, the contrariety so apparent; it is very possible that two litigants shall from them pretend words serving their distinct hypotheses, especially when they come to wrangle about the interpretations of ambiguous sayings; and of things so disputed there can be no end, no determination. And therefore it will be impossible for the Roman doctors to conclude from the sayings of a number of fathers (viz. in the latter and succeeding ages of the church; for of them only the argument does treat), that their doctrine which they would prove thence, was the catholic doctrine of the church. And the reason of this is derived from the ground I laid for the argument, because these fathers are oftentimes 'gens contra gentem;' and sometimes one man against himself, and sometimes changing his doctrine, and sometimes speaking in heat, and disputing fiercely, and striving by all means to prevail and conquer heretics; and therefore a testimony of many of them consenting, is not a sufficient argument to prove a doctrine catholic; unless all consent in this case, the major part will not prove a doctrine catholic: of this I have given divers instances already, and shall add more in the section of tradition; for the present I shall only recite the words of the bishop of the Canaries[u], a great man amongst them, to attest what I say: "Tertia conclusio. Plurium sanctorum autoritas, reliquis licèt paucioribus reclamantibus, firma argumenta theologo sufficere et præstare non valet." If the

[t] Chap. i. sect. 1. Dissuasive.
[u] Melch. Canus loc. Theol. lib. vii. c. 3. n. 8.

major part of the fathers consenting be not a sufficient argument (as Canus here expressly says), then no argument from the authority of the fathers can prove it catholic, unless it be universal. Not that it is required, that each single point be proved by each single father, as J. S. most weakly would infer; for that indeed is morally impossible; but that when the fathers of the later ages of whom we speak, are divided in sentence and interest, neither from the lesser number nor yet from the greater can you conclude any catholic consent. "Ecclesia universalis nunquam errat, quia nunquam toto errat;" it is not to be imputed to the universal church, unless all of it agree; and by this, Abulensis[x] asserts the indefectibility of the church of God; 'it never errs, because all of it does never err.'

And therefore here is wholly a mistake; for to prove a point 'de fide' from the authority of the fathers, we require a universal consent. Not that it is expected that every man's hand that writes, should be at it, or every man's vote that can speak, should be to it, for this were unreasonable; but a universal consent is so required, that is, that there be no dissent by any fathers equally catholic and reputed. "Reliquis licèt paucioribus reclamantibus;" "if others, though the fewer number, do dissent," then the major part is not testimony sufficient. And therefore when Vincentius Lirinensis and Thomas of Walden affirmed, that the consent of the major part of fathers, from the apostles downwards, is catholic; Canus expounds their meaning to be, in case that the few dissentients have been condemned by the church, then the major part must carry it: thus when some of the fathers said that Melchisedec was the Holy Ghost, here the major part carried it, because the opinion of the minor part was condemned by the church. But let me add one caution to this, that it may pass the better. Unless the church of that age, in which a minor part of fathers contradicts a greater, do give testimony in behalf of the major part,—which thing I think never was done, and is not indeed easy to be supposed, —though the following ages reject the minor part, it is no argument that the doctrine of the major part was the catholic doctrine of that age. It might, by degrees, become uni-

[x] Abulens. Præf. in Matt. q. 3.

versal, that was not so at first; and therefore, unless the whole present age do agree, that is, unless of all that are esteemed orthodox, there be a present consent, this broken consent is not an infallible testimony of the catholicism of the doctrine. And this is plain in the case of St. Cyprian and the African fathers, denying the baptism of heretics to be valid[y]: supposing a greater number of doctors did at that time believe the contrary; yet their testimony is no competent proof, that the church of that age was of their judgment; no, although the succeeding ages did condemn the opinion of the Africans; for the question now is, not whether St. Cyprian's doctrine be true or no, but whether it was the catholic doctrine of the church of that age. It is answered, it was not, because many catholic doctors of that age were against it, and for the same reason, neither was their doctrine the catholic, because as wise and as learned men opposed them in it; and it is a frivolous pretence to say, that "the contrary (viz. to St. Cyprian's doctrine) was found and defined to be the faith and the sense of the church;" for suppose it was, but then it became so by a new and later definition, not by the oral tradition of that present age; and, therefore, this will do J. S. no good, but help to overthrow his fond hypothesis. This or that might be a true doctrine, but not the doctrine of the then catholic church, in which the catholics were so openly and with some earnestness divided. And, therefore, it was truly said in 'The Dissuasive,' "That the clear saying of one or two of those fathers, truly alleged by us to the contrary, will certainly prove that what many of them (suppose it) do affirm, and which but two or three as good catholics do deny, was not then a matter of faith or a doctrine of the church: if it had, these dissentients publicly owning and preaching that doctrine, would have no catholics but heretics.

Against this J. S.[z] hath a pretty sophism, or, if you please, let it pass for one of his demonstrations. "If one or two denying a point, which many (others) affirm, argues that it is not of faith; then 'à fortiori,' if one or two affirm it to be of faith, it argues it is of faith, though many others deny it." This consequent is so far from arising from the antecedent,

[y] J. S. p. 3, 4. [z] Ibid.

that nothing in the world destroys it more. For, because the denial of one or two argues a doctrine is not catholic, though affirmed by many, therefore it is impossible that the affirmation of one or two (when there be many dissentients) should sufficiently prove a doctrine to be catholic. The antecedent supposes that true which therefore concludes the consequent to be false; for, therefore, the affirming a thing to be catholic, by two or three, or twenty, does not prove it to be so, unless all consent, because the denying it to be catholic (which the antecedent supposes) by two or three, is a good testimony that it is not catholic. J. S.'s argument is like this; if the absence of a few makes the company not full, then the presence of a few when more are absent, 'à fortiori' makes the company to be full. But because I must say nothing but what must be reduced to grounds, I have to show the stupendous folly of this argument, a self-evident principle, and that is, 'Bonum,' and so, 'Verum' is 'ex integra causa, malum ex qualibet particulari;' and a cup is broken, if but one piece of the lip be broken; but it is not whole, unless it be whole all over. And much more is this true, in a question concerning the universality of consent, or of tradition. For J. S. does prevaricate in the question, which is, whether the testimony be universal, if the particulars be not agreed; and he instead of that thrusts in another word which is no part of the question: for so he changes it, by saying, "The dissent of a few does not make but that the article is a point of faith;" for though it cannot be supposed a point of faith, when any number of the catholic fathers do profess to believe a proposition contrary to it; yet possibly it will by some of his side be said to be a point of faith, 'upon other accounts;' as upon 'the church's definition,' or the 'authority of plain Scriptures;' but this will be nothing to J. S.'s hypothesis; for if a part of the catholic fathers did deliver the contrary, there was no irrefragable, catholic, oral tradition of the church, when so considerable a part of the church delivered the contrary as their own doctrine, which is not to be imagined they would have done, if the consent of the church of that age was against it. And if we can suppose this case that one part of the fathers should say, 'this is the doctrine of the church,' when another part of the fathers are of a contrary judgment,

—either they did not say true, and then the fathers' testimony, speaking as witnesses of the doctrine of the church of their age, is not infallible;—or if they did say true, yet their testimony was not esteemed sufficient; because the other fathers, who must needs know it, if it was the catholic doctrine of the church then, do not take it for truth or sufficient. And that maxim which was received in the council of Trent, that "a major part of voices was sufficient for decreeing in a matter of reformation; but that a decree of faith could not be made, if a considerable part did contradict," relies upon the same reason; faith is every man's duty, and every man's concern, and every man's learning; and, therefore, it is not to be supposed that any thing can be an article of faith, in which a number of wise and good men are at difference, either as doctors, or as witnesses. And of this we have a great testimony from Vincentius Lirinensis[a]: "In ipsa item ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est: hoc est enim verè proprièque catholicum." Not that which a part of the fathers, but "that which is said every where, always, and by all, that is truly and properly catholic; and this (says he) is greatly to be taken care of in the catholic church."

From all these premises it will follow, that 'The Dissuasive' did, or might to very good purpose, make use of the fathers; and if I did there, or shall, in the following sections, make it appear, that in such an age of the ancient church, the doctrines which the church of Rome at this day imposes on the world as articles of faith, were not then accounted articles of faith; but either were spoken against, or not reckoned in their canon and confessions, it will follow that either they can make new articles of faith, or at least cannot pretend these to be articles of faith upon the stock of oral catholic tradition; for this cannot be at all, if the catholic fathers were (though unequally) divided in their testimony.

The rest of J. S.'s last Way or mine is but bragging, and indeed this whole Appendix of his is but the dregs of his 'Sure Footing,' and gives but very little occasion of useful and material discourse. But he had formerly pro-

[a] Common. c. 3.

mised that he would give an account of my relying on Scripture, and here was the place reserved for it; but when he comes to it, it is nothing at all, but a reviling of it, calling of it "A bare letter, unsensed outward characters, ink thus figured in a book;" but whatsoever it is, he calls it my "main, most fundamental, and in a manner my only principle;" though he, according to his usual method of saying what comes next, had said before that I had 'no principle,' and that 'I had many principles.' All that he adds afterwards is nothing but the same talk over again concerning the fathers, of which I have given an account I hope full enough; and I shall add something more when I come to speak concerning the justification of the grounds of the protestant and Christian religion. Only that I may be out of J. S.'s debt, I shall make it appear that he and his party are the men that go upon no grounds; that in the church of Rome there is no 'Sure Footing,' no certain acknowledged rule of faith; but while they call for an assent above the nature and necessity of the thing, they have no warrant beyond the greatest uncertainty,—and cause their people to wander (that I may borrow J. S.'s expression) "in the very sphere of contingency."

THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

Of the Church: showing that the Church of Rome relies upon no certain Foundation for their Faith.

THAT the Scriptures are infallibly true, though it be acknowledged by the Roman church, yet this is not an infallible rule to them, for several reasons: 1. Because it is imperfect and insufficient (as they say) to determine all matters of faith. 2. Because it is not sufficient to determine any that shall be questioned: not only because its authority and truth are to be determined by something else that must be before it; but also because its sense and meaning must be found out by something after it. And not he that writes or speaks, but he that expounds it, gives the rule; so that Scripture no more is to rule us, than matter made the world: until something else gives it form and life, and motion, and operative powers, it is but 'iners massa,' not so much as a clod of earth. And they, who speak so much of the obscurity of Scripture, of the seeming contradictions in it, of the variety of readings, and the mysteriousness of its manner of delivery, can but little trust that obscure, dark, intricate, and at last, imperfect book, for a perfect clear rule. But I shall not need to drive them out of this fort, which they so willingly of themselves quit. If they did acknow-

ledge Scripture for their rule, all controversies about this would be at an end, and we should all be agreed: but because they do not, they can claim no title here.

That which they pretend to be the infallible judge, and the measure of our faith, and is to give us our rule, is the church; and she is a rock; 'The pillar and ground of truth;' and, therefore, here they fix. Now how little assurance they have by this confidence, will appear by many considerations.

1. It ought to be known and agreed upon, what is meant by this word 'church,' or 'ecclesia.' For it is a πολύσημον; and the church cannot be a rule or guide, if it be not known what you mean when you speak the word. Σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς, said Suidas; 'His body,' viz. mystical, 'Christ calls his church.' Among the Greeks, it signifies a convention or assembly met together for public employment and affairs; συναγωγὴν ὄχλου: so Aristophanes understands it; ἡ ἐκκλησία δ' οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτον γίγνεται; "Is there not a convocation or an assembly called for this Plutus*?" Now, by translation this word is used among Christians to signify "all them, who, out of the whole mass of mankind, are called and come, and are gathered together by the voice and call of God, to the worship of God through Jesus Christ, and the participation of eternal good things to follow:" so that 'the church' is 'a company of men and women professing the saving doctrine of Jesus Christ.' This is the church 'in sensu forensi,' and in the sight of men; but because 'glorious things are spoken of the city of God,' the professors of Christ's doctrine are but imperfectly and inchoatively the church of God; but they who are indeed holy and obedient to Christ's laws of faith and manners,—that live according to his laws, and walk by his example; these are truly and perfectly 'the church,' and they have this signature, "God knoweth who are his." These are the church of God in the eyes and heart of God. For the church of God are the body of Christ; but the mere profession of Christianity makes no man a member of Christ; "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing in Christ Jesus; nothing but a new creature;" nothing but "a faith working by love;" and "keeping the commandments of

* Brunck, 171.

God." Now they that do this, are not known to be such by men; but they are only known to God; and, therefore, it is in a true sense "the invisible church;" not that there are two churches, or two societies, in separation from each other; or that one can be seen by men, and the other cannot: for then either we must run after the church, whom we ought not to imitate; or be blind in pursuit of the other that can never be found; and our eyes serve for nothing but to run after false fires. No, these two churches are but one society; the one is within the other; "They walk together to the house of God as friends, they take sweet counsel together," and eat the bread of God in common: but yet though the men be visible, yet that quality and excellency by which they are constituted Christ's members, and distinguished from mere professors and outsides of Christians, this, I say, is not visible. All that really and heartily serve Christ 'in abdito,' do also profess to do so; they serve him in the secret of the heart, and in the secret chamber, and in the public assemblies, unless by an intervening cloud of persecution they be for a while hid, and made less conspicuous: but the invisible church ordinarily and regularly is part of the visible, but yet that only part that is the true one; and the rest but by denomination of law, and in common speaking are the church,—not in mystical union, not in proper relation to Christ; they are not the house of God, not the temple of the Holy Ghost, not the members of Christ; and no man can deny this. Hypocrites are not Christ's servants, and therefore not Christ's members, and therefore no part of the church of God, but improperly and equivocally, as a dead man is a man; all which is perfectly summed up in those words of St. Austin[a], saying, "that the body of Christ is not 'bipartitum,' it is not a 'double body:' 'non enim revera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in æternum;' 'all that are Christ's body, shall reign with Christ for ever.'" And, therefore, they who are of their father, the devil, are the synagogue of Satan, and of such is not the kingdom of God: and all this is no more than what St. Paul said; "They are not all Israel, who are of Israel[b]:" and, "He is not a Jew that is

[a] De Doctr. Christ. lib. iii. c. 22. [b] Rom. ix. 6.

one outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly[c]." Now if any part of mankind will agree to call the universality of professors by the title of the 'church,' they may if they will; any word, by consent, may signify any thing: but if by 'church' we mean that society which is really joined to Christ, which hath received the Holy Spirit, which is heir of the promises, and the good things of God, which is the body of which Christ is head; then the invisible part of the visible church, that is, the true servants of Christ only, are the church; that is, to them only appertain the Spirit and the truth, the promises and the graces, the privileges and advantages of the Gospel: to others they appertain, as the promise of pardon does; that is, when they have made themselves capable.

For since it is plain and certain, that Christ's promise of giving the Spirit to his apostles was merely conditional, 'if they did love him,' 'if they did keep his commandments[d]:' since it is plainly affirmed by the apostle, that, by reason of wicked lives, men and women did turn apostates from the faith, since nothing in the world does more quench the Spirit of Wisdom and of God than an impure life; it is not to be supposed that 'the church,' as it signifies 'the professors' only of Christianity, can have an infallible spirit of truth. If the church of Christ have an indefectibility, then it must be that which is in the state of grace, and the Divine favour. They whom God does not love, cannot fall from God's love; but the faithful only and obedient are beloved of God: others may believe rightly; but so do the devils, who are no parts of the church, but princes of 'ecclesia malignantium;' and it will be a strange proposition which affirms any one to be of the church, for no other reason but such as qualifies the devil to be so too. For there is no other difference between the devil's faith and the faith of a man that lives wickedly, but that there are hopes the wicked man may, by his faith, be converted to holiness of life, and, consequently, be a member of Christ and the church,—which the devils never can be. To be converted from Gentilism, or Judaism, to the Christian faith, is an excellent thing; but it is, therefore so excellent, because that is God's usual way,

[c] Rom. ii. 28, 29. [d] John, xiv. 15, 16.

by that faith to convert them unto God, from their vain conversation unto holiness. That was the conversion which was designed by the preaching of the Gospel; of which, to believe merely, was but the entrance and introduction.

Now besides the evidence of the thing itself, and the notice of it in Scripture[e], let me observe, that this very thing is, in itself, a part of the article of faith; for if it be asked, 'What is the catholic church?'— the apostles' creed defines it; it is 'communio sanctorum,' 'I believe the holy catholic church,' that is, 'the communion of saints,' the conjunction of all them who heartily serve God through Jesus Christ; the one is indeed exegetical of the other, as that which is plainer is explicative of that which is less plain; but else they are but the same thing: which appears also in this, that in some creeds the latter words are left out, and particularly in the Constantinopolitan, as being understood to be in effect but another expression of the same article. To the same sense exactly Clemens of Alexandria[f] defines the church to be "the congregation of the elect;" *οὐ γὰρ νῦν τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ·* "By the church I do not mean the place, but the gathering or heap of the elect; for this is the better temple for the receiving the greatness of the dignity of God. For that living thing which is of great price, to him who is worthy of all price, yea, to whose price nothing is too great, *δι' ὑπεροχὴν ἁγιότητος καθιέρωται*, 'is consecrated by the excellency of holiness.'" But more full is that of St. Austin[g], who spends two chapters in affirming, that only they who serve God faithfully, are the church of God: "'The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.' For this is in the good and faithful, and the holy servants of God, scattered everywhere, and combined by a spiritual union in the same communion of sacraments, whether they know one another by face or no. Others, it is certain, are so said to be in the house of God, that they do not pertain to the structure of the house, nor to the society of fructifying and peace-making justice, but are as chaff in the wheat. For we cannot deny that they are in the house, the apostle Paul saying, 'That in a great house there are

[e] Ephes. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
[f] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. p. 715. edit. Paris. A. D. 1629.
[g] De Bapt. contr. Donatist. lib. vii. c. 51 et 52.

not only vessels of gold and silver, but wood and earth, some for honour and some for dishonour.'"—And a little before[h]: "I do not speak rashly, when I say, some are so in the house of God, that they also are that very house of God, which is said to be built upon a rock, which is called the only dove, the fair spouse without spot or wrinkle, the garden shut up, a fountain sealed, a pit of living water, a fruitful paradise. This is the house which hath received the keys, and the power of loosing and binding; whosoever shall despise this house, reproving and correcting him, he saith, 'let him be as an heathen and a publican.'" And then he proceeds to describe who are this house, by the characters of sanctity, of charity, and unity. "Propter malam pollutamque conscientiam damnati à Christo, jam in corpore Christi non sunt, quod est ecclesia; quoniam non potest Christus habere damnata membra:" "Those who are condemned by Christ for their evil and polluted consciences, are not in Christ's body, which is the church; for Christ hath no damned members."

And this, besides that it is expressly taught in the Augustan confession, it is also the doctrine of divers Roman doctors, that wicked men are not true members of the body of the church, but equivocally. So Alexander of Ales, Hugo, and Aquinas, as they are quoted by Turrecremata; so Petrus à Soto, Melchior Canus, and others, as Bellarmine himself confesses[i]; so that if it be said that evil men are in the church, it is true, but they are not of the church; as St. John's expression is, "for if they had been of us, they would have tarried with us:" which words seem to be of the same sense with those fathers, who affirm the church to be 'the number of the predestinate, whom God loves to the end.' But however, 'the wicked are only in the body of the church, as peccant humours, and excrements, and hair, and putrefaction;' so said St. Austin, as Bellarmine quotes him: and the same thing, in almost the same words, is set down by

[h] S. Aug. lib. ii. contr. Crescen. c. 21. Vide Eund. lib. ii. contr. Petit. c. ult. lib. iv. de Bapt. c. 3., lib. vi. c. 3.

[i] Mali quidem sunt in ecclesiâ, sed non de ecclesiâ; quia mali non sunt de regno Dei, sed de regno diaboli. Vide etiam Greg. M. lib. xxviii. cor. Moral. c. 9. Lib. i. c. 57. apud Bell. lib. ii. c. 9. De Ecclesiâ Militante. Tract. 2. in epist. Johan. Bellar. ubi suprà sect. Idem Augustinus.

Coster, the jesuit[k]: and when Bellarmine[l] attempts to answer this saying of St. Austin, he says, he means that "the wicked are not in the church in the same manner as the godly are;" that is, not as living members: which, though it be put in the place of an answer, to amuse the young fellows that are captivated with the admirable method of 'objectio' and 'solutio;' yet it plainly confesses the point in question, viz. that the wicked are not members of Christ's body; and if they be not, then to them belong not the privileges and promises which God gave and promised to his church: for they were given for the sake of the saints only, saith St. Austin; and Bellarmine confesses it[m]. But I need not be digging the cisterns for this truth; Christ himself hath taught it to us very plainly[n]; "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you:" not upon any other terms; and I hope none but friends are parts of Christ's mystical body, members of the church whereof he is head; and the only condition of this is, "if we do whatsoever Christ commanded us[o]." And that this very blessing and promise of knowing and understanding the will of God appertains only to the godly, Christ declares in the very next words; "Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doth; but I have called you friends, for all things I have heard from my father I have made known unto you." So that, being the friends of God, is the only way to know the will of God; none are infallible but they that are holy; and they shall certainly be directed by Christ, and the spirit of Christ. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself," said our blessed Lord[p]. And St. John said, "Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things[q]." The spirit of God is the great teacher of all truth to the church; but they that 'grieve the holy spirit of God,' they that 'quench the spirit,' they that 'defile his temple,' from these men he will surely depart: that 'he shall abide with men unto the end of the world,' is a promise not belonging

[k] Coster Apolog. pro parte 36.
[l] Enchirid. c. 12. sect. Qui non.
[m] Ibid. sect. Respondeo, Augustinum.
[n] John, xiv. 21, and xv. 14.
[o] John, xiv. 15.
[p] John vii. 17.
[q] 1 John, ii. 27.

to them, but to them 'that keep his commandments.' The external parts of religion may be ministered by wicked persons, and by wicked persons may be received; but the secrets of the kingdom, the spiritual excellencies of the Gospel, that is, truth and holiness, a saving and an unreprovable faith, and an indefectible love, to be united to Christ, and to be members of his body; these are the portions of saints, not of wicked persons, whether clergy or laity. "The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom, and the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable," said Solomon[r]: but when we consider those men who 'detain the faith in unrighteousness,' it is no wonder that God leaves them, and gives them over to believe a lie, and delivers them to the spirit of illusion; and, therefore, it will be ill to make our faith to rely upon such dangerous foundations. As all the principles and graces of the Gospel are the propriety of the godly; so they only are the church of God, of which glorious things are spoken, and it will be vain to talk of the infallibility of God's church: the Roman doctors either must confess it subjected here, that is, in the church in this sense, or they can find it nowhere. In short, this is the church (in the sense now explicated), which is the 'pillar and ground of truth;' but this is not the sense of the church of Rome; and, therefore, from hence they, refusing to have their learning, can never pretend wisely, that they can be infallibly directed.

We have seen what is the true meaning of the church of God, according to the Scriptures, and fathers, and sometimes persons formerly in the church of Rome. In the next place, let us see what, nowadays, they mean by the church, with which name or word they so much abuse the world.

1. Therefore, by church sometimes they mean the whole body of them that profess Christianity: 'Greges pastoribus adunatos,' priest and people, bishops and their flocks, all over the world, upon whom the name of Christ is called, whether they be dead in sins, or alive in the Spirit, whether good Christians or false hypocrites: but all the number of the baptised, except excommunicates, that are since cut off, make this body.

[r] Prov. x. 31.

Now the word 'church,' I grant, may and is given to them, by way of supposition and legal presumption; as a jury of twelve men are called 'good men and true;' that is, they are not known to be otherwise, and, therefore, presumed to be such: and they are the church in all human accounts; that is, they are the congregation of all that profess the name of Christ; of whom every particular that is not known to be wicked, is presumed to be good; and, therefore, is still part of the external church[s], in which are the wheat and the tares; and they are bound up in common by the union of sacraments and external rites, name, and profession; but by nothing else. This doctrine is well explicated by St. Austin: "That is not the body of Christ, which shall not reign with him for ever."—And yet we must not say it is bipartite; but it is either true or mixed, or it is either true or counterfeit; or some such thing. "For not only in eternity, but even now, hypocrites are not to be said to be with Christ, although they may seem to be of his church. But the Scripture speaks of those and these as if they were both of one body, 'propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem sacramentorum:' they are only combined 'by a temporal mixtion, and united by the common use of the sacraments.'" And this, to my sense, all the churches of the world seem to say; for when they excommunicate a person, then they throw him out of the church; meaning, that all his being in the church of which they could take cognizance, is but by the communion of sacraments and external society. Now, out of this society no man must depart; because, although a better union with Christ and one another is most necessary, yet even this cannot, ought not, to be neglected; for by the outward, the inward is set forward and promoted: and, therefore, to depart from the external communion of the church, upon pretence that the wicked are mingled with the godly, is foolish and unreasonable[t]; for by such departing, a man is not sure he shall depart from all the wicked, but he is sure he shall leave the communion of the good, who are mingled in the common

[s] De Doctr. Crist. lib. iii. c. 32.

[t] Impediri non debet fides aut caritas nostra, ut, quoniam zizania esse in ecclesiâ cernimus, ipsi de ecclesiâ recedamus. S. Cypr. lib. iii. ep. 3. ad Maximum.—Scil. ep. 51. edit. Rigaltianæ.

mass with the wicked; or else, all that which we call the church is wicked. And what can such men propound to themselves of advantage, when they certainly forsake the society of the good, for an imaginary departure from the wicked; and after all the care they can take, they leave a society in which are some intemperate, or many worldly men, and erect a congregation, for aught they know, of none but hypocrites?

So that which we call the church is "permixta ecclesia," as St. Austin[u] is content it should be called, "a mixed assembly;" and for this mixture' sake, under the knot of external communion, the church, that is, all the company, is esteemed one body; and the appellatives are made in common, and so are the addresses, and offices and ministries: because, of those that are not now, some will be good; and a great many that are evil, are undiscernibly so; and in that communion are the ways, and ministries, and engagements of being good; and above all, in that society are all those that are really good; therefore it is no wonder, that we call this great mixtion by the name of 'ecclesia,' or the 'church:' but then, since the church hath a more sacred notion, it is the spouse of Christ, his dove, his beloved, his body, his members, his temple, his house in which he loves to dwell, and which shall dwell with him for ever; and this church is known, and discerned, and loved by God, and is united unto Christ: therefore, although, when we speak of all the acts and duties, of the judgments and nomenclatures, of outward appearances and accounts of law, we call the mixed society by the name of the church: yet when we consider it in the true, proper, and primary meaning, by the intention of God, and the nature of the thing, and the intercourses between God and his church; all the promises of God, the Spirit of God, the life of God, and all the good things of God are peculiar to the church of God, in God's sense, in the way in which he owns it, that is, as it is holy, united unto Christ, like to him, and partaker of the Divine nature. The other are but a heap of men keeping good company, calling themselves by a good name, managing the external parts of union and ministry; but because they otherwise belong not to God,

[u] Ubi supra.

the promises no otherwise belong to them, but as they may, and then when they do, return to God.

Here then are two senses of the word 'church,' God's sense, and man's sense: the sense of religion, and the sense of government; common rites and spiritual union.

II. Having now laid this foundation, that none but the true servants[x] of Christ make the true church of Christ, and have title to the promises of Christ, and particularly of the Spirit of truth; and having observed that the Roman church relies upon the church under another notion and definition: the next inquiry is to be, What certainty there is of finding truth in this church, and in what sense and meaning it is, that in the church of God we shall be sure to find it.

Of the church, in the first sense, St. Paul affirms; it is "the pillar and ground of truth[y]." He spake it of the church of Ephesus, or the holy catholic church over the world; for there is the same reason of one and all; if it be, as St. Paul calls it, "Ecclesia Dei vivi," if it be united to the head Christ Jesus, every church is as much the 'pillar and ground of truth,' as all the church; which that we may understand rightly, we are to consider that what is commonly called the 'church,' is but 'domus ecclesiæ veræ,' as the 'ecclesia vera' is 'domus Dei:' it is the school of piety, the place of institution and discipline. Good and bad dwell here; but God only and his Spirit dwell with the good. They are all taught in the church; but the good only are θεοδίδακτοι, 'taught by God,' by an infallible Spirit, that is, by a Spirit which neither can deceive nor be deceived; and therefore by him the good, and they only, are led into all saving truth; and these are the men that preserve the truth in holiness. Without this society, the truth would be hidden and held in unrighteousness; so that all good men, all particular congregations of good men, who, upon the foundation, Christ Jesus, build the superstructure of a holy life, 'are the pillar and ground of truth;' that is, they support and defend

[x] In ecclesiâ non est macula aut ruga; quia peccatores, donec non pœnitet eos vitæ prioris, non sunt in ecclesiâ: cum autem pœnitet, jam sani sunt. Patian ep. 3. ep. Sympronium.

Idem ait S. Hieron. comment. in Ephes. c. 5. Maculati ab eâ [ecclesiâ] alieni esse censentur, nisi rursum per pœnitentiam fuerint expurgati.

[y] 1 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

the truth, they follow and adorn the truth; which truth would in a little time be suppressed, or obscured, or varied, or concealed, and misinterpreted, if the wicked only had it in their conduct. That is: among good men we are most like to find the ways of peace and truth, all saving truth, and the proper spiritual advantages and loveliness of truth. Now then, this does no more relate to all churches, than to every church. God will no more leave or forsake any one of his faithful servants, than he will forsake all the world. And therefore here the notion of catholic is of no use; for the church is the communion of saints, wherever it be, or may be; and that this church is catholic, it does not mean by any distinct existence; but by comprehension and actual and potential inclosure of all communions of holy people 'in the unity of the spirit, and in the band of peace;' that is, both externally and internally: 'Externally' means the common use of the symbols and sacraments; for they are the band of peace; but the unity of the Spirit is the peculiar of the saints, and is the internal confederation and conjunction of the members of Christ's body in themselves, and to their head. And by the energy of this state, wherever it happens to be, all the blessings of the Spirit are entailed; every man hath his share in it, he shall never be left or forsaken; and the Spirit of God will never depart from him, as long as he remains in, and is of, the communion of saints. But this promise is made to him only as he is part of this communion, that is, of the body of Christ; 'Membrum divulsum,' if a limb be cut off from the union of the body, it dies. No man belongs to God but he that is of this communion; but therefore the greater the communion is, the more abundance of the Spirit they shall receive; as there is more wisdom in many wise men, than in a few: and since every single church or convention receives it in the virtue of the whole church, that is, in conjunction with the body of Christ; it is the whole body to whom this appellative belongs, that she is the 'pillar and ground of truth.' But as every member receives life and nourishment, and is alive, and is defended and provided for, by the head and stomach, as truly and really as the whole body: so it is in the church; every member preserves the saving truth, and every member lives unto God, and so long as they do so they shall never

be forsaken by the Spirit of God; and this is to every man as really as to every church; and therefore every good man hath his share in this appellative; and the saints of Vienne and Lyons called Attalus the Martyr, "a pillar and ground of the churches[z];" and truly he seems to have been a man that was fully grounded in the truth, one that hath built his house upon a rock, one with whom truth dwells, to whom Christ, the fountain of truth, will come and dwell with him; for he hath built upon the foundation, Christ Jesus being the chief corner-stone; and thus Attalus was a pillar, one upon whose strength others were made more confident, bold, and firm in their persuasion; he was one of the pillars that helped to[a] support the Christian faith, and church; and yet no man supposes that Attalus was infallible; but so it is in the case of every particular church as really as of the catholic, that is, as to all churches; for that is the meaning of the word catholic; not that it signifies a distinct being from a particular church; and if taken abstractedly, nothing is effected by the word; but if taken distributively, then it is useful, and material, for it signifies, that, in every congregation, "where two or three are gathered in the name of Christ, God is in the midst of them" with his blessing and with his Spirit; it is so 'in all the churches of the saints;' and in all of them, as long as they remain such, the truth and faith is certainly preserved. But then that in the apostolical creed the church is recommended under the notion of catholic, it is of great use and excellent mystery, for by it we understand, that in all ages there is, and in all places there may be, a church or collection of true Christians; and this catholic church cannot fail; that is, all particular churches shall not fail; for still it is to be observed, there is no church catholic really distinct from all particular churches; and therefore there is no promise made to a church in the capacity of being catholic or universal; for that which hath no distinct being can have no distinct promises, no distinct capacities, but the promises are made to all churches and to every church: only there is this in it, if any church of one deno-

[z] Apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. c. 1.

[a] Puto quod convenienter hi, qui episcopatum bene administrant in ecclesia, 'trabes' dici possunt, quibus sustentatur et tegitur omne ædificium. Origen. Homil. in Cantica.

mination shall be cut off, other branches shall stand by faith, and still be in the vine: the church of God cannot be without Christ their head, and the head will not suffer his body to perish. Thus I understand the meaning of the church's being 'the pillar and ground of truth.' Just as we may say, human understanding, and the experience of mankind, is the pillar and ground of true philosophy; but there is no such abstracted being as human understanding, distinct from the understanding of all individual men. Every universal is but an intentional or notional being: so is the word catholic relating to the church, if it be understood as something separated from all particular churches; and I do not find that it is any other ways used in Scripture than in the distributive sense. So St. Paul, "The care of all the churches is upon me:" that is, he was the apostle of the catholic church of the Gentiles: and so "I teach in all the churches of the saints:" and in this sense it is, that I say, the apostles have, in the creed, comprehended all the Christian world, all the congregations of Christ's servants, in the word 'catholic.'

But then 2. It is to be considered that this epithet of the church to be the 'pillar and ground of truth' is to be understood, to signify in opposition to all religions that were not Christian. The implied antithesis is not of the whole to its parts, but of kind to kind; it is not so called to distinguish it from conventions of those who disagree in the house of God, but from those that are out of the house; meaning that whatever pretences of religion the Gentile temples, or the Jewish synagogues could make, truth could not be found among them, but only in those who are assembled in the name of Christ, who profess his faith, and are of the Christian religion: for they alone can truly pretend to be the conservers of truth; to them only now are committed the oracles of God, and if these should fail, truth would be at a loss, and not be found in any other assemblies. In this sense St. Paul spake usefully and intelligibly; for if the several conventions of separated and disagreeing Christians should call themselves, as they do and always did, the 'church;' the question would be, which were the church of God; and by this rule you were never the nearer to know where truth is to be found: for if you say, 'in the church of God,'—several pretend to it, who yet do not teach the truth: and then you must find

out what is truth, before you find the church. But when the churches of Christians are distinguished from the assemblies of Jews, and Turks, and heathens; she is visible and distinguishable and notorious: and, therefore, they that love the truth of God, the saving truth that makes us wise unto salvation, must become Christians; and in the assemblies of Christians they must look for it as in the proper repository, and there they shall find it.

3. But then it is also considerable, what truth that is, of which the church of the living God is the pillar and ground? It is only of the saving truth of the Gospel, that whereby they are made members of Christ, the house of God, the temples of the Holy Spirit. For the spirit of God being the church's teacher, he will teach us to avoid evil and to do good, to be wise and simple, to be careful and profitable, to know God, and whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ,—to increase in the knowledge and love of them, to be peaceable and charitable, but not to entertain ourselves and our "weak brethren with doubtful disputations," but to keep close to the foundation, and to superstruct upon that a holy life; that is, God teaches his church the way of salvation, that which is necessary, and that which is useful εἰς οἰκοδομὴν πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης, that "which will make us wise unto salvation." But in this school we are not taught curious questions, unedifying notions, to untie knots which interest and vanity, which pride and covetousness have introduced; these are taught by the devil, to divide the church, and by busying them in that which profits not, to make them neglect the wisdom of God and the holiness of the spirit. And we see this truth by the experience of above 1500 years. The churches have troubled themselves with infinite variety of questions, and divided their precious unity, and destroyed charity, and instead of contending against the devil and all his crafty methods, they have contended against one another, and excommunicated one another, and anathematized and damned one another; and no man is the better after all, but most men are very much the worse; and the churches are in the world still divided about questions that commenced twelve or thirteen ages since; and they are like to be so for ever, till Elias come; which shows plainly, that God hath not interested himself in the

revelations of such things; and that he hath given us no means of ending them, but charity, and a return to the simple ways of faith. And this is yet the more considerable, because men are so far from finding out a way to end the questions they have made, that the very ways of ending them, which they propounded to themselves, are now become the greatest questions; and consequently themselves, and all their other unnecessary questions, are indeterminable; their very remedies have increased the disease. And yet we may observe, that God's ways are not like ours, and that his ways are the ways of truth and everlasting; he hath by his wise providence preserved the plain places of Scripture, and the apostle's creed, in all churches, to be the rule and measure of that faith, by which the churches are saved, and which is only that means of the unity of spirit, which is the band of peace in matters of belief. And what have the churches done since? To what necessary truths are they, after all their clampers, advanced, since the apostles left to them that τύπος διδαχῆς that sound 'form of' words and 'doctrine?' What one great thing is there beyond this, in which they all agree, or in which they can be brought to agree? He that wisely observes the ways of God, and the ways of man, will easily perceive that God's goodness prevails over all the malice and all the follies of mankind; and that nothing is to be relied upon as a rule of truth, and the ways of peace, but what Christ hath plainly taught, and the apostles from him; for he alone 'is the author and finisher of our faith;' he began it, and he perfected it; and unless God had mightily preserved it, we had spoiled it.

Now, to bring all this home to the present inquiry. The event and intendment of the premises is this. They who, slighting the plain and perfect rule of Scripture, rely upon the church as an infallible guide of faith, and judge of questions; either by the church, mean the congregation and communion of saints, or the outward church mingled of good and bad; and this is intended either to mean a particular church of one name; or by it they understand the catholic church. Now, in what sense soever they depend upon the church for decision of questions, expecting an infallible determination and conduct; the church of Rome will find she relies upon a reed of Egypt, or at least a staff of wool. If

by the church they mean the communion of saints only, though the persons of men be visible, yet, because their distinctive cognizance is invisible, they can never see their guide; and, therefore, they can never know whether they go right or wrong. And the sad pressure of this argument Bellarmine saw well enough: "It is necessary (saith he[b]) it should be infallibly certain to us, which assembly of men is the church. For, since the Scriptures, traditions, and plainly all doctrines depend on the testimony of the church, unless it be most sure which is the true church, all things will be wholly uncertain. But it cannot appear to us which is the true church, if internal faith be required of every member or part of the church." Now, how necessary true saving faith, or holiness is (which Bellarmine calls 'internal faith'), I refer myself to the premises. It is not the church, unless the members of the church be members of Christ, living members; for the church is truly Christ's living body. And yet, if they by church mean any thing else, they cannot be assured of an infallible guide; for all that are not the true servants of God, have no promise of the abode of the spirit of truth with them: so that the true church cannot be a public judge of questions to men, because God only knows her numbers and her members: and the church, in the other sense, if she be made a judge, she is very likely to be deceived herself; and therefore, cannot be relied upon by you; for the promise of an infallible spirit, the spirit of truth was never made to any but to the communion of saints. 3. If by the church you mean any particular church, which will you choose; since every such church is esteemed fallible? But if you mean the catholic church; then, if you mean her, an abstracted separate being, from all particulars, you pursue a cloud, and fall in love with an idea, and a child of fancy: but if by 'catholic' you mean all particular churches in the world; then, though truth does infallibly dwell amongst them, yet you can never go to school to them all to learn it,—in such questions, which are curious and unnecessary, and by which the salvation of souls is not promoted, and on which it does not rely;

[b] Lib. iii. de Eccl. milit. cap. 10. Sect. Ad hoc, necesse est.

not only because God never intended his saints and servants should have an infallible spirit, so to no purpose; but, also, because no man can hear what all the Christians of the world do say; no man can go to them, nor consult with them all; nor ever come to the knowledge of their opinions and particular sentiments. And, therefore, in this inquiry, to talk of the church in any of the present significations, is to make use of a word that hath no meaning, serving to the end of this great inquiry.

III. The church of Rome, to provide for this necessity, have thought of a way to find out such a church as may salve this phænomenon: and by church, they mean the 'representation of a church:' the 'church representative' is this infallible guide; the clergy, they are the church,—the teaching and the judging church. And of these, we may better know what is truth in all our questions; for their lips are to preserve knowledge; and they are to rule and feed the rest; and the people must require the law from them; "and must follow their faith[c]."—Indeed, this was a good way once, even in the days of the apostles, who were faithful stewards of the mysteries of God. And the apostolical men, the first bishops who did preach the faith, and lived accordingly, these are to be remembered, that is, their lives to be transcribed, their faith, and perseverance in faith, is to be imitated. To this purpose is that of St. Irenæus to be understood[d]: "Tantæ ostensiones cum sint, non oportet adhuc quærere apud alios veritatem, quam facile est ab ecclesiâ sumere; cum apostoli, quasi in repositorium dives, plenissimè in eam contulerint omnia, quæ sint veritatis, ubi omnis, quicunque velit, sumat ex eâ potum vitæ. Hæc est enim vitæ introitus. Omnes autem reliqui fures sunt et latrones, propter quod oportet devitare quidem illos." As long as the apostles lived, as long as those bishops lived, who being their disciples, did evidently and notoriously teach the doctrine of Christ, and were of that communion; so long they, that is, the apostolical churches, were a sure way to follow; because it was known and confessed, these clergy guides had an infallible unerring spirit. But as the church hath decayed in discipline, and charity hath waxen

[c] Heb. xiii. 7. [d] Lib. iii. cap. 3. in principio.

cold, and faith is become interest and disputation, this counsel of the apostle, and these words of St. Irenæus come off still the fainter. But now here is a new question, viz. whether the rulers of the church be the church, that church which is 'the pillar and ground of truth;' whether, when they represent the diffusive church, the promises of an indeficient faith, and the perpetual 'abode of the holy spirit,' and his 'leading into all truth,' and 'teaching all things,' does in propriety belong to them? For, if they do not, then we are yet to seek for an infallible judge, a church on which our faith may rely with certainty and infallibility.

In answer to which I find, that, in Scripture, the word 'ecclesia' or 'church' is taken in contra-distinction from the clergy; but never that it is used to signify them alone. "Then it pleased the apostles and the elders with the whole church, to choose men of their own company[e]," &c. And "the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers to feed the church of God[f]." And Hilarius Diaconus observes[g], that the apostle to the church of Colossus sent by them a message to their bishop: "Præpositum illorum per eos ipsos commonet, ut sit sollicitus de salute ipsorum; et quia plebis solius scribitur epistola, ideò non ad rectorem ipsorum destinata est, sed ad ecclesiam:" observing that the bishop is the ruler of the church, but his flock is that, which he intended only to signify by 'the church.' The clergy, in their public capacity, are not 'the church,' but the 'rulers of the church;' 'ecclesiastici,' but not 'ecclesia;' they are denominatives of the church; bishops and pastors of the church: and in their personal capacity, are but parts, and members of the church; and are never in the New Testament called 'the church' indefinitely; and this is so notorious and evident in Scripture, that it is never pretended otherwise, but in xviii. of St. Matthew, "Dic ecclesiæ;" "If thy brother offend thee, rebuke him; and then, before two or three; and, if he neglect them, "tell it unto the church;" that is, to 'the rulers of the church,' say the Roman doctors. But this cannot be directly so, for ecclesia or church is the highest degree of the same ascent; first in private, to one of the church surely, for they had no society with

[e] Act. xv. 22. [f] Act. xx. 28. [g] In Col. iv. 16.

any else, especially in the matter of fraternal correption: then in the company of some few, of the church still; for 'not to heathens:' and at last, 'of the whole church;' that is, of all the brethren in your public assembly: this is a natural climax; and it is made more than probable, by the nature of the punishment of the incorrigible; they become as heathen, because they have slighted the whole church; and, therefore, are not to be reckoned as any part of the church. And, then, lastly, this being an advice given to St. Peter, and the other apostles; that they, in this case, should 'tell the church;' by the church, must be meant something distinct from the clergy, who are not here commanded to tell themselves alone, but the whole congregation of elders and brethren, that is, of clergy and people. It is not to be denied, but every national church, whereof the king is always understood to be the supreme Governor, may change their form of judicature, in things (I mean) 'that are without;' that is, such things which are not immediately by Christ, intrusted to the sole conduct of the bishops and priests, such as are the ministry of the word and sacraments, and the immediate cure of souls. Concerning other things, St. Paul gave order to the Corinthians, that in the cases of law, and matters of secular division upon interest, which the apostle[h] calls ἐξουθενημένα κριτήρια, "those who are least esteemed in the church" should be appointed to judge between them by way of reference; but, by the way, this does not authorize the rulers of churches, the pastors and bishops to intermeddle; for they are "most esteemed," that is, the 'principals' in the church: but then this very thing proves, that the κριτήριον, or the duty and 'right of judging,' is in the whole church of the saints; οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι κοσμὸν κρινοῦσι; "Know ye not, that the saints shall judge the world?" that is, the church hath the power of judging; and it is yet more plain, because he calls upon the church of Corinth to delegate this judicature, this κριτήριον ἐλάχιστον, this little, 'this least judgment,' though now it is esteemed the greatest; but little or great, καθίζετε, 'do you appoint' the judges; those that are least esteemed. And for other things they may appoint greater

[h] 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3, 4.

judges, and put their power in execution by such ministries, which are better done by one or by a few persons, than by a whole multitude; who, in the declension of piety, would rather make tumults than wise judgments. And upon this account, though for a long time the people did interest themselves in public judicatures, and even in elections of bishops, which were matters greater than any of the ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κριτήρια, and this, St. Cyprian said[i], was their due, by divine right, (let him answer for the expression) yet, in these affairs, the people were also conducted, and so ought to be, by their clergy-guides, who, by their abilities to persuade and govern them, were the fittest for the execution of that power. But then, that which I say is this, that this word 'ecclesia,' or 'church,' signifying this judicatory, does not signify the clergy, as distinct from their flocks; and there is not any instance in the New Testament to any such purpose; and yet, that the clergy may also reasonably, but, with a metonymy, be represented by the word 'church,' is very true; but this is only by the change of words and their first significations. They are the fittest to order and conduct the ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κριτήρια, 'the whole ecclesiastical judicature.' "Ut omnis actus ecclesiæ per præpositos gubernetur," it is St. Cyprian's[k] expression; "That whatever act the church intends to do, it should be governed by their rulers;" viz., by consent, by preaching, by exhortation, by reason, and experience, and better knowledge of things: but the people are to stand or fall at these judicatories, not because God hath given them the judgment of an infallible spirit, more than to the whole church or congregation; but because they are fittest to do it, and for many other great reasons. And this appears, without contradiction, true; because, even the decrees of general councils bind not, but as they are accepted by the several churches in their respective districts and dioceses: of which I am to give an account in the following periods.

But if this thing were otherwise; yet if by the church they understand the clergy only, it must be all the clergy that must be the judge of spiritual questions; for no example is offered from the New Testament, no instance can be pro-

[i] Vide S. Cypr. ep. 68. 32. 98.

[k] Epist. 27.

duced that by 'ecclesia' is meant the 'clergy,' and by 'clergy' is meant only a 'part of the clergy;' these cannot in any sense be the catholic church; and then, if this sense were obtained by the church of Rome, no man were the better, unless all the bishops and priests of the world were consulted in their questions.

4. They, therefore, think it necessary to do as God did to Gideon's army; they will not make use of all, but send away the multitude, and retain the 10,000; and yet because these are too many to overthrow the Midianites, they reduce them to 300. The church must have a representative; but this shall be of a select number; a few, but enough to make a council: a general council is the church representative[l]; and it is pretended here, they can set their foot, and stand fast upon infallibility; for all the promises made to the church, are crowded into the tenure and possession of a general council: and, therefore, 'Dic ecclesiæ' is, 'Tell it to the council,' that is the church, said a great expositor of the canon law.

This indeed is said by very many of the Roman doctors, but not by all; and, therefore, this will at first seem but a trembling foundation, and themselves are doubtful in their confidences of it; and there is an insuperable prejudice laid against it, by the title of the first general council that ever was; that, I mean, of Jerusalem[m], where the apostles were presidents, and the presbyters were assistants, but the church was the body of the council, "When they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders:"—And again; "Then it pleased the apostles and elders with the church to send chosen men:" and they did so, they sent a decretal, with this style; "The apostles, and elders, and brethren, send greeting to the brethren which are of the Gentiles."—Now no man doubts but the spirit of infallibility was in the apostles; and yet they had the consent of the church in the decree; which church was the company of the converted brethren; and by this it became a rule: certainly, it was the first precedent, and therefore ought to be the measure of the rest, and this the rather because from hence

[l] Archidiac. in cap. Præcipuè 11. q. 3. [m] Acts, xv. 4, 22, 23.

the succeeding councils have derived their sacramental sanction, of 'Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis:' now as it was the first, so it was the only precedent in Scripture; and it was managed by the apostles, and, therefore, we can have no other warrant of an authentic council but this; and to think that a few of the rulers of churches should be a just representation of the church, for infallible determination of all questions of faith, is no way warranted in Scripture: and there is neither here, nor any where else, any word or commission, that the church ever did, or could, delegate the Spirit to any representatives, or pass infallibility by a commission or letter of attorney: and, therefore, to call a general 'council' the church, or to think that all the privileges and graces given by Christ to his church is there in a part of the church, is wholly without warrant or authority.

But this is made manifest by matter of fact; and the church never did intend to delegate any such power, but always kept it in her own hand; I mean the supreme judicature, both in faith and discipline. I shall not go far for instances, but observe some in the Roman church itself, which are therefore the more remarkable, because in the time of her reign, general councils[a] were arrived to great heights, and the highest pretensions. Clement VII. calls the council of Ferrara, 'the eighth general synod,' in his bull of the 22d of April, 1527, directed to the bishop of Fernasia, who it seems had translated it out of Greek into Latin: yet this general council is not accepted in France; but was expressly rejected by king Charles VII., and the instance of the cardinals who came from pope Eugenius, to desire the acceptation of it, was denied. This council was, it seems, begun at Basil; and though the king did then, and his great council and parliament, and the church of France then assembled at Bruges[b], accept it; yet it was but in part; for of 45 sessions of that council, France hath received only the first 32, and those not entirely as they lie, but with certain qualifications: "Aliqua simpliciter ut jacent, alia vero cum certis modificationibus et for-

[a] Vide edit. Roman. Actorum Generalis octavæ Synodi per Anton. Bladium, 1516.

[b] A. D. 1431.

mis;" as is to be seen in the pragmatic sanction. To the same purpose is that which happened to the last council of Lateran, which was called to be a countermine to the second council of Pisa, and to frustrate the intended reformation of the church in head and members: this council excommunicated Lewis XII. of France, repealed the pragmatical sanction, and condemned the second council of Pisa. So that here was an end of the council of Pisa, by the decree of the Lateran; and on the other side, the Lateran council had as bad a fate; for, besides that it was accounted in Germany, and so called by Paulus Langius[p], a monk of Germany, "A pack of cardinals;" it is wholly rejected in France: and an appeal to the next council put in against it by the university of Paris. And as ill success hath happened to the council of Trent; which, it seems, could not oblige the Roman catholic countries without their own consent: but, therefore, there were many pressing instances, messages, petitions, and artifices, to get it to be published in France. First to Charles IX. by Pius Quartus, A. D. 1563; then by cardinal Aldobrandino, the pope's nephew, 1572; then by the French clergy, 1576, in an assembly of the states at Blois, Peter Espinac, archbishop of Lyons, being speaker for the clergy; after this, by the French clergy, at Melun, 1579, the bishop of Bazas making the oration to the king; and after him, the same year they pressed it again, Nicolas Angelier, the bishop of Brien, being speaker[q]. After this, by Renald of Beaune, archbishop of Bruges, 1582, and the very next year by the pope's nuncio to Henry III. And in A. D. 1583, and 88, and 93, it was pressed again and again; but all would not do: by which it appears, that even in the church of Rome, the authority of general councils is but precarious; and that the last resort is to the respective churches, who did or did not send their delegates to consider and consent. Here then is but little ground of confidence in general councils; whom surely the churches would absolutely trust, if they had reason to believe them to be infallible.

But there are many more things to be considered. For

[p] In Chron. Sitiensi, A. D. 1513.

[q] Vide Thuan. hist. lib. 105, et revue du Concile de Trente. lib. i.

there being many sorts of councils[r];—general, provincial, national, diocesan;—the first inquiry will be which of all these, or whether all of these, will be an infallible guide, and of necessity to be obeyed. I doubt not, but it will be roundly answered; 'that only the general councils are the last and supreme judicatory, and that alone which is infallible.' But yet how uncertain this rule will be, appears in this, that the gloss of the canon law[s] says, "Non videtur, metropolitanos posse condere canones in suis conciliis;" at least not in great matters, "imò non licet:" yet the 7th synod allows the decrees, "Decisiones localium conciliorum," "the definitions of local councils." But I suppose it is in these as it is in the general: they that will accept them, may; and if they will approve the decrees of provincial councils, they become a law unto themselves; and without this acceptation, general councils cannot give laws to others.

2. It will be hard to tell, which are general councils, and which are not; for, the Roman councils under Symmachus, all the world knows, can but pretend to be local or provincial, consisting only of Italians, and yet they bear universal in their style; and it is always said (as Bellarmine[t] confesses) "Symmachus concilio generali præsidens;" and the third council of Toledo, in the 18th chapter, uses this mandatory form, "Præcipit hæc sancta et universalis synodus."

3. But if we will suppose a catachresis in this style; and that this title of 'universal' means but a 'particular,' that is, an universal of that place; though this be a hard expression; because the most particular or local councils are or may be universal to that place; yet this may be pardoned; since it is like the catholic Roman style, that is, the manner of speaking in the universal particular church; but after all this, it will be very hard in good earnest to tell which councils are indeed universal, or general councils. Bellarmine reckons eighteen from Nicene to Trent inclusively; so that the council of Florence is the sixteenth; and yet pope Clement VII. calls it the eighth general; and is reproved

[r] Gratian dist. 3. can. Porrò. [s] Ubi supra. act. 3.
[t] Lib. i. c. 4. de Concil. et Eccles. Sect. Vocantur omn.

for it by Surius, who, for all the pope's infallibility, pretended to know more than the pope would allow. The last Lateran council, viz. the fifth, is at Rome esteemed a general council; in Germany and France it passes for none at all, but a faction and 'pack of cardinals.'

4. There are divers general councils, that, though they were such, yet they are rejected by almost all the Christian world. It ought not to be said, that these are not general councils, because they were conventions of heretical persons; for if a council can consist of heretical persons (as by this instance it appears it may), then a general council is no sure rule or ground of faith. And all those councils, which Bellarmine calls 'reprobate,' are so many proofs of this. For whatever can be said against the council of Ariminum; yet they cannot say but it consisted of 600 bishops: and, therefore, it was as general as any ever was before it, but the faults that are found with it, prove indeed that it is not to be accepted; but then they prove two things more: first, that a general council binds not, till it be accepted by the churches; and, therefore, that all its authority depends on them; and they do not depend upon it: And secondly, that there are some general councils which are so far from being infallible, that they are directly false, schismatical, and heretical. And if when the churches are divided in a question, and the communion, like the question, in flux and reflux; when one side prevails greatly, they get a general council on their side, and prevail by it; but lose as much, when the other side play the same game in the day of their advantages. And it will be to no purpose to tell me of any collateral advantages, that this council hath more than another council; for though I believe so, yet others do not; and their council is as much a general council to them as our council is to us. And, therefore, if general councils are the rule and law of faith in those things they determine, then all that is to be considered in this affair, is, whether they be general councils. Whether they say true or no, is not now the question, but is to be determined by this, viz. Whether are they general councils or no? for relying upon their authority for the truth, if they be satisfied that they are general councils; that they speak and determine truth will be consequent and allowed. Now then if this be the ques-

tion, then, since divers general councils are reprobated, the consequent is, that although they be general councils, yet they may be reproved. And if a catholic, producing the Nicene council, be rencountered by an Arian producing the council of Ariminum, which was far more numerous;—here are "aquilis aquilæ, et pila minantia pilis;" but who shall prevail? If a general council be the rule and guide, they will both prevail; that is, neither. And it ought not to be said, by the catholic; 'Yea, but our council determined for the truth, but yours for error;' for the Arian will say so too. But whether they do or no; yet it is plain, that they may both say so: and if they do, then we do not find the truth out by the conduct and decision of a general council; but we approve this general, because upon other accounts we believe, that what is there defined is true. And, therefore, St. Austin's way here is best; "Neque ego Nicenum concilium, neque tu Ariminense," &c. both sides pretend to general councils: that which both equally pretend to, will help neither; therefore, let us go to Scripture. But there are amongst many others two very considerable instances, by which we may see plainly at what rate councils are declared general. There was a council[a] held at Constantinople under Constantinus Copronymus, of 338 bishops. It was in that unhappy time, when the question of worshipping or breaking images was disputed. This council commanded images to be destroyed out of churches; and this was a general council: and yet 26, or, as some say, 31 years after[z], this was condemned by another general council, viz. the second at Nice, which decreed images to be worshipped; not long after, about five years, this general council of Nice, for that very reason, was condemned by a general council of Frankfort, and generally by the western churches. Now of what value is a general council to the determination of questions of faith, when one general council condemns another general council with great liberty, and without scruple? And it is to no purpose to allege reasons or excuses, why this or that council is condemned; for if they be general, and yet may, without reason, be condemned, then they have no authority; but if they be condemned

[a] A. D. 755. [z] A. D. 786. aut 789.

with reason, then they are not infallible. The other instance is in those councils, which were held when the dispute began between the council and the pope. The council of Constance, consisting of almost a thousand fathers, first and last, defined the council to be above the pope: the council of Florence, and the fifth council in the Lateran, have condemned this council so far, as to that article. The council of Basil, all the world knows how greatly they asserted their own authority over the pope; but therefore, though in France it is accepted, yet in Italy and Spain it is not.

But what is the meaning that some councils are partly approved and partly condemned, the council of Sardis, that in Trullo, those of Frankfort, Constance, and Basil; but that every man, and every church, accepts the general councils, as far as they please and no further? The Greeks receive but seven general councils, the Lutherans receive six, the Eutychians in Asia receive but the three first, the Nestorians in the east receive but the two first, the antitrinitarians in Hungary and Poland receive none. The church of England receives the four first generals as of highest regard, not that they are infallible, but that they have determined wisely and holily. "Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata."—It is as every one likes: for the church of Rome that receives sixteen, are divided; and some take in others, and reject some of these, as I have shown.

5. How can it be known which is a general council, and how many conditions are required for the building such a great house? The question is worth the asking, not only because the church of Rome teaches us to rely upon a general council, as the supreme judge and final determiner of questions, but because I perceive that the church of Rome is at a loss concerning general councils. "The council of Pisa," Bellarmine says, "is neither approved nor reproved[r];" for pope Alexander VI. approved it, because he acknowledged the election of Alexander V., who was created pope by that council: and yet Antonius called it "conciliabulum illegitimum," "an unlawful conventicle." But here Bellarmine was a little forgetful; for the fifth Lateran council, which they in Rome will call a general, hath condemned this Pisan,

[r] A. D. 1409. De Concil. et Eccles. lib. i. c. 8.

with great interest and fancy; and, therefore, it was "both approved and reproved."

But it is fit that it be inquired, how we shall know which, or what, is a general council, and which is not. 1. If we inquire into the number of the bishops there present, we cannot find any certain rule for that: but be they many or few, the parties interested will, if they please, call it a general council. And they will not, dare not, I suppose, at Rome, make a quarrel upon that point; when, in the sixth session of Trent, as some printed catalogues inform us[z], they may remember there were but thirty-eight persons in all, at their first sitting down, of which number some were not bishops: and at last, there were but fifty-seven archbishops and bishops in all. In the first session were but three archbishops and twenty-three bishops; and in all the rest, about sixty archbishops and bishops was the usual number, till the last; and yet there are some councils of far greater antiquity, who are rejected, although their number of bishops very far surpass the numbers of Trent: in Nice were three hundred and eighteen bishops; in that of Chalcedon were six hundred; and in that of Basil were above four hundred bishops; and in that of Constance were three hundred, besides the other fathers (as they call them). But this is but one thing of many; though it will be very hard to think, that all the power and energy, the virtual faith, and potential infallibility of the whole Christian church, should be in eighty or ninety bishops, taken out of the neighbour-countries.

6. But then if we consider, upon what pitiful pretences the Roman doctors do evacuate the authority of councils; we shall find them to be such, that by the like, which can never be wanting to a witty person, the authority of every one of them may be vilified, and, consequently, they can be infallible security to no man's faith. Charles VII. of France, and the French church assembled at Bruges, rejected the latter sessions of the council of Basil, because they deprived pope Eugenius, and created Felix V., and because it was doubtful, whether that assembly did sufficiently represent the catholic church. But Bellarmine says, 'that the former sessions of the council of Basil are invalid and null; because

[z] 1546.

certain bishops fell off there, and were faulty.' Now if this be a sufficient cause of nullity, then if ever there be a schism, or but a division of opinions, the other party may deny the authority of the council; and especially if any of them change their opinion, and go to the prevailing side, the other hath the same cause of complaint: but this ought not at all to prevail, till it be agreed how many bishops must be present; for if some fail, if enough remain, there is no harm done to the authority. But because any thing is made use of for an excuse, it is a sure sign they are but pretended more than regarded, but just when they serve men's turns. The council of Constantinople, under Leo Isaurus, is rejected by the Romanists, because there was no patriarch present but St. German; though all the world knows the reason is, because they decreed against images. But if the other were a good reason, then it is necessary that all the old patriarchs should be present; and if this be true, then the general council of Ephesus is null, because all the patriarchs were not present at it, and particularly the patriarch of Antioch; and in that of Chalcedon there wanted the patriarch of Alexandria. And the first of Constantinople could not have all the patriarchs, neither could it be representative of the whole church, because, at the same time, there was another council at Rome; and, which is worse to the Romanists than all that, the council of Trent, upon this and a thousand others, is invalid; because themselves reckon but three patriarchs there present; one was of Venice, another of Aquileia, and the third was only a titular of Jerusalem; none of which were really any of the old patriarchs, whose authority was so great in the ancient councils.

7. It is impossible, as things are now[a], that a general council should be a sure rule or judge of faith, since it can never be agreed who of necessity are to be called, and who have decisive voices in councils. At Rome they allow none but bishops to give sentence, and to subscribe; and yet anciently, not only the emperors and their ambassadors did subscribe, but lately, at Florence, Lateran, and Trent, cardinals and bishops, abbots and generals of orders, did subscribe; and in the council of Basil, priests had decisive

[a] Bellarm. lib. i. de Concil. et Eccles. c. 15. sect. At Catholicorum.

voices, and it is notorious that the ancient councils were subscribed by the archimandrites, who were but abbots, not bishops: and cardinal Jacobatius affirms [b], that sometimes laymen were admitted to councils, to be judges between those that disputed some deep questions. Nay, Gerson says, that controversies of faith were sometimes referred to pagan philosophers, who, though they believed it not, yet, supposing it such, they determined what was the proper consequent of such principles; which the Christians consented in: and, he says, it was so in the council of Nice, as is left unto us upon record. And Eutropius, a pagan [c], was chosen judge between Origen and the Marcionites; and against these he gave sentence, and in behalf of Origen. Certain it is, that the states of Germany, in their diet at Nuremberg, propounded to pope Adrian VI., that laymen might be admitted as well as the clergy, and freely to declare their judgments without hinderance. And this was no new matter; for it was practised in all nations; in Germany, France, England, and Spain itself; as who please may see in the sixth, eighth, and twelfth councils of Toledo. So that it is apparent that the Romanists, though now they do not, yet formerly they did [d]; and were certainly in the right: and if any man shall think otherwise, he can never be sure that they were in the wrong; especially when he shall consider, that the council of the apostles not only admitted presbyters, but the laity, who were parties in the decree; as is to be seen in the "Acts of the Apostles [e]:" and that for this there was also a very great precedent in the Old Testament, in a case perfectly like it; when Elijah appealed to the people to judge between God and Baal, which of them was the Lord, by answering by fire [f].

8. But how if the church be divided in a question, which hath caused so great disturbances, that it is thought fit to call a council? here will be an eternal uncertainty. If they call both sides, they will never agree: if they call but one, then they are parties and judges too. In the general council of Sardis [g], by command of the two emperors, Constans and

[b] De Concil. lib. ii. act. 6. [c] Socrat. lib. i. c. 5. Eccles. Hist.
[d] Vide Marsil. Patav. in Defens. Pacis. part. 2. c. 20.
[e] Cap. xv. 22, 23. [f] 1 Kings, xviii.
[g] Socrat. lib. ii. c. 18. Sozomen. lib. iii. c. 10.

Constantius, all bishops, catholics and Arians, were equally admitted; so it was also both at Ariminum and Seleucia; and so it was at Ferrara, where the Greeks and Latins sat together. But if one side only exclude all the adversaries, and delare them criminals beforehand, as it happened at Trent and Dort, how is that one party a representative of the church, when so great a part of Christendom is not consulted, not heard, not suffered?

9. Suppose, a council being called, the bishops be divided in their opinion, how shall the decision be? By the major number of voices surely. But how much the major? Shall one alone above the equal number carry it? That were strange that one man should determine the faith of Christendom! Must there be two-thirds, as it was propounded in Trent, in some cases; but if this be, who shall make any man sure, that the Holy Spirit of God shall go over to those two-thirds, and leave the remaining party to themselves? And who can ascertain us that the major part is the more wise and more holy; or, if they be not, yet that they shall speak more truth? But in this also, the doctors are uncertain and divided; and how little truth is to be given to the major part in causes of faith, the Roman doctors may learn from their own abbot of Panormo[b], and the chancellor of Paris. The first saying, "The opinion of one godly man ought to be preferred before the pope's, if it be grounded upon better authorities of the Old and New Testament:" and the latter saying, "Every learned man may and ought to withstand a whole council, if he perceive it errs of malice or ignorance."

10. The world is not yet agreed, in whose power it is to call the councils; and if it be done by an incompetent authority, the whole convention is schismatical; and, therefore, not to be trusted as a judge of consciences and questions of faith. The emperors always did it of old; and the popes of late: but let this be agreed first, and then let the other questions come before them; till then, we cannot be sure.

11. Lastly; If general councils be supposed to be the rule and measure of faith, Christendom must needs be in a sad condition and state of doubt for ever; not only because

[b] Panorm. in Corp. Significasti de Elect.

a council is not called, it may be, in two or three ages, but because no man can be sure that all things are observed, which men say are necessary: neither did the several churches ever agree what was necessary, nor did they ever agree to set down the laws and conditions requisite to their being such; and, therefore, they have well and wisely comported themselves in this; that never any general council did declare that a general council is infallible. Indeed Bellarmine labours greatly to prove it out of Scripture: his best argument is the promise that Christ made, that "when two or three are gathered in my name, I will be in the midst of them;" and, "I will be with you to the end of the world." Now, to these authorities I am now no other way to answer but by observing, that these arguments do as much prove every Christian meeting, of any sort of good Christians, to be as infallible as a council, and that a diocesan council is as sure a guide as a general; and it is impossible, from those, or any other like words of Christ, to prove the contrary; and, therefore, gives us no certainty here.

5. But if general councils, in themselves, be so uncertain, yet the Roman doctors now, at last, are come to some certainty; for if the pope confirm a council, then it is right and true, and the church is a rule which can never fail, and never can deceive, or leave men in uncertainty; for a spirit of infallibility is then in the church's representative, when head and members are joined together. This is their last stress; and if this cord break, they have nothing to hold them.

Now for this, there are divers great considerations, which will soon put this matter to issue. For although this be the new device of the court of Rome, and the pope's flatterers, especially the jesuits, and that this never was so much as probably proved, but boldly affirmed and weakly grounded: yet this is not defined as a doctrine of the Roman church. For, 1. We find Bellarmine[1] reckoning six cases of necessity or utility of calling general councils; and four of them are of that nature, that the pope is either not in being, or else is a party, the person to be judged: as, 1. If there be a schism amongst the popes of Rome, as when there happen to be two

[1] De Concil. et Eccles. lib. iii. c. 9.

or three popes together; which happened in the councils of Constance and Basil. Or, 2. If the pope of Rome be suspected of heresy. Or, 3. When there is great necessity of reformation of manners in head and members; which hath been so notoriously called for above four hundred years. Or, 4. If the election of the pope be questioned. Now, in these cases, it is impossible, that the consent of the pope should be necessary to make up the authority of the council, since the pope is the 'pars rea,' and the council is the only judge. And of this there can be no question; and, therefore, the pope's authority is not necessary, nor of avail, to make the council valid.

2. If the pope's approbation of the council make it to be an infallible guide, then since, without it, it is not infallible, not yet the supreme judicatory, it follows that the pope is above the council; which is a thing very uncertain in the church of Rome: but it hath been denied in divers general councils, as by the first Pisan; by the council of Constance, the fourth and fifth sessions; by the council of Basil, in the second, the sixteenth, and eighteenth, and thirty-third sessions; by the council of Bruges under Charles VII., and by the pragmatic sanction: all which have declared, that "a general council hath its authority immediately from Christ," (and consequently not depending on the pope), "and that it is necessary that every person in what dignity soever, though papal, should be obedient to it, in things that concern faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church of God, both in head and members." This is the decree of the council of Constance; which also adds further, "That whosoever shall neglect to obey the commands, statutes, ordinances, and decrees of this or any other general council, lawfully assembled, in the things aforesaid, or thereunto pertaining," (viz. in matters of faith or manners), "made or to be made, if he do not repent of it, he shall undergo a condign penance; yea, and with recourse to other remedies of law against him, of what condition, estate, or dignity soever he be, though he be the pope." The same was confirmed in the council of Lausanne, and the second Pisan, in the third session: so that here are six general councils, all declaring the pope to be inferior and submitted to a council; they created popes in some of them; they

decreed when councils should be called, they judged popes, they deposed them, they commanded their obedience, they threatened to impose penances if they obeyed not, and to proceed to further remedies in law; and the second Pisan, beside the former particulars, declared that the synod neither could nor should be dissolved without their universal consent; nevertheless, by the common consent it might be removed to a place of safety, especially with the pope, if he could be got to consent thereunto; always provided it be not at Rome. And yet this very council was approved and commended by pope Alexander V., as both Platina, and Nauclerus witness [k]: and the council of Constance was called by pope John XXIII. He presided in it, and was for his wicked life deposed by it; and yet Platina, in his life, says, he approved it; and after him so did pope Martin V. (as is to be seen in the last session of that council) and Eugenius IV.; and the council of Basil, and Lausanne was confirmed by pope Nicolas V., as is to be seen in his bull; and not only pope Martin V., but pope Eugenius IV. approved the council of Basil. It were a needless trouble to reckon the consenting testimonies of many learned divines and lawyers, bearing witness to the councils' superiority over popes. More material it is that many famous universities, particularly those of Paris, Erfurt, Cologne, Vienna, Cracow; all unanimously did affirm the power of general councils over popes, and, principally for this thing, relied upon the authority of the general councils of Constance and Basil.

Now if a general council, confirmed by a pope, be a rule or judge of faith and manners; then this is an article of faith, that the authority of a general council does not depend upon the pope, but on Christ immediately; and then the pope's confirmation does not make it valid, any more than the confirmation or consent of the other patriarchs for their respective provinces. For here are many councils, and they confirmed by divers popes.

But that it may appear how uncertain all, even the greatest, things are at Rome, cardinal Cajetan [m] wrote a book against this doctrine, and against the councils of Con-

[k] Platina in Alex. Quinto.—Naucl. tom. 2. generat. 47.

[l] Vide 16. c. 18. Session.

[m] De Comparatione autoritatis Papæ et Concilii.

stance, Basil, and Pisa, and Gerson, the chancellor of Paris: which book king Lewis XII. of France, required the university of Paris to examine; which they did to very good purpose. And the latter popes of Rome have used their utmost diligence to disgrace and nullify all these councils, and to stifle the voice and consciences of all men, and to trample general councils under their feet. Now how can the souls of Christian people put their questions and differences to their determination, who themselves are biting and scratching one another? He was likely to prove but an ill physician, who gave advices to a woman that had gotten a cold, when himself could scarce speak for coughing. I am not concerned here to say what I think of the question, or whether the council or the pope be in the right; for I think, as to the power of determining matters of faith infallibly, they are both in the wrong. But that which I observe is, that the church of Rome is greatly divided about their judge of controversies, and are never like to make an end of it, unless one party be beaten into a good compliant belief with the other. I shall only add a conclusion to these premises in the words of Bellarmine[a]; "Si concilia generalia possent errare, nullum esset in ecclesia firmum judicium, quo controversiæ componi, et unitas in ecclesiâ servari possit;" "If a general council can err, there is no sure judgment in church for the composing controversies, and preserving unity." I shall not need to take advantage of these words, by observing, that Bellarmine hath by them evacuated all the authority of the pope's defining questions 'in cathedrâ;' for if a general council can fail, nothing amongst them can be certain. This is that which I observe; that since this thing is rendered so uncertain upon the stock of their own wranglings, and not agreeing upon which are general councils; one part condemning some, which very many others among them acknowledge for such; it is impossible, by their own doctrine, that they can have any place where to set their foot, and say, 'Here I fix upon a rock, and cannot be moved.' And there being so many conditions required, and so many ways of failing laid to their charge, and many more that may be found out; and it being impossible that we can be

[a] De Concil. Autor. lib. ii. c. 24. Sect. Accedit.

infallibly assured that none of them hath happened in any general council that comes to be questioned; how can any man rely upon the decision of a council as infallible, of which he cannot ever be infallibly assured that it hath proceeded 'concilialiter' (as Bellarmine's new word is), or that it hath in it nothing that does evacuate or lessen its authority? And after all this, suppose we are all agreed about any convention, and allow it to be a general council; yet they do not always end the questions when they have defined them; and the decrees themselves make a new harvest of uncertainties: of this we have too many witnesses, even all the questions which in the world are made concerning the sense and meaning of the decrees and canons in the respective councils. And when Andreas Vega [a], and Dominicus à Soto, and Soto, and Catarinus (who were all present at the council of Trent, and understood the meaning of the council as well as any, except the legates and their secret junto) wrote books against one another, and both sides brought the words of the council for themselves, and yet neither prevailed; Santa Croce the legate, who well enough understood that the council intended not to determine the truth, yet, to silence their wranglings in the council, let them dispute abroad; but the council would not end it, by clearing the ambiguity. And since this became the mode of Christendom to do so upon design; it can be no wonder that things are left uncertain for all the decrees of councils.

It is well, therefore, that the church of Rome requires faith to her conclusions, greater than her premises can persuade. It is the only way of escaping that is left them, as being conscious that none of their arguments can enforce what they would have believed. And to the same purpose it is, that they teach the conclusions and definitions of councils to be infallible, though their arguments and proceedings be fallible, and pitiful, and false. If they can persuade the world to this, they have got the goal; only it ought to be confessed by them that do submit to the definition, that they do so, moved to it by none of their reasons, but they know not why.

I do not here enter into the particular examination of the

[a] A. D. 1546.

matters determined by many councils; by which it might largely and plainly appear, how greatly general councils have been mistaken. This hath been observed already by many very learned men: and the council of Trent is the greatest instance of it in the world, as will be made to appear in the procedure of this book. But the Romanists themselves, by rejecting divers general councils, have, as I have above observed, given proof enough of this. That all things are here uncertain, I have proved; and that if there be error here, there can be no certainty any where else, Bellarmine confesses: so that I have thus far discharged what I undertook.

But beyond this, there are some other particulars fit to be considered, by which it will yet further appear that in the church of Rome, unless they will rely upon the plain Scriptures, they have no sure foundation: instance in those several articles, which some of the Roman doctors say are 'de fide;' and others of their own party, when they are pressed with them, say they are not 'de fide,' but the opinions of private doctors; that, if a prince turn heretic, that is, be not of the Roman party, he presently loses all right to his temporal dominions; that the pope can change kingdoms, taking from one, and giving to another, this is esteemed by the Jesuits a matter of faith. It is "certa, indubitata, definita virorum clarissimorum sententia;" said Creswell the Jesuit, in his 'Philopater.'—F. Garnet said more, it is "Totius ecclesiæ et quidem ab antiquissimis temporibus consensione recepta doctrina."—"It is received," saith Creswell, "by the whole school of divines and canon-lawyers;" nay, it is 'certum et de fide,' 'It is matter of faith.' I know that the English priests will think themselves injured, if you impute this doctrine to them, or say, it is the catholic doctrine: and yet, that this power in temporals, that he can depose kings sometimes, is in the pope, "Non opinio, sed certitudo apud catholicos est," said Bellarmine[p]; "it is more than an opinion, it is certain amongst the catholics." Now since this is not believed by all that call themselves catholics, and yet by others of greatest note it is said to be the catholic doctrine, to be certain, to be a point of faith; I desire to know, where

[p] Contr. Barclai. c. 3.

this faith is founded, which is the house of faith, where is their warrant, their authority, and foundation of their article? For if an English scholar in the college at Rome, had, in confession to friar Parsons, Creswell, Garnet, Bellarmine, or any of their parties, confessed that he had spoken against the pope's power of deposing kings in any case, or of any pretence of killing kings, it is certain they could not have absolved him, till he had renounced his heresy; and they must have declared, that if he had died in that persuasion, he must have been damned; what rest shall this poor man have, or hope for? He pretends that the council of Constance had declared for his opinion; and, therefore, that his, and not theirs, is certain and matter of faith: they tell him so; and yet for their article of faith, have neither father nor council, Scripture nor reason, tradition nor ancient precedent; where then is this foundation upon which the article is built? It lies low, as low as hell, but can never be made to appear; and yet amongst them, articles of faith grow up without root and without foundation; but a man may be threatened with damnation amongst them for any trifle, and affrighted with clappers and men of clouts. If they have a clear and certain rule, why do their doctors differ about the points of faith? They say some things are articles of faith, and yet do not think fit to give a reason of their faith; for indeed they cannot. But if this be the way of it amongst Roman doctors, they may have many faiths, as they have breviaries in several churches; "Secundum usum Sarum," "secundum usum scholæ Romanæ;" and so, without ground or reason, even the catholics become heretics one to another: it is by chance if it happen to be otherwise.

2. What makes a point to be 'de fide?' If it be said, 'the decision of a general council;' then since no general council hath said so, this proposition is not 'de fide.' That 'what a general council says is true, is to be believed as matter of faith;'—if the authority be not 'de fide,' then how can the particulars of her determination be 'de fide?' for the conclusion must follow the weaker part; and if the authority itself be left in uncertainty, the decrees cannot be infallible.

3. As no man living can tell, that a council hath proceeded rightly; so no man can tell when an article of faith

is firmly decreed, or when a matter is sufficiently propounded, or when the pope hath perfectly defined an article: of all this the canon law is the greatest testimony in the world, where there is council against council, pope against pope; and among so many decrees of faith and manners it cannot be told what is, and what is not certain. For when the popes have sent their rescripts to a bishop, or any other prelate, to order an affair of life or doctrine; either he wrote that with an intent to oblige all Christendom, or did not. If not, why is it put into the body of the laws; for what is a greater signature, or can pass a greater obligation, than the authentic code of laws? But if these were written with an intent to oblige all Christendom, how come they to be prejudiced, rescinded, abrogated by contrary laws, and desuetude, by change of times and changes of opinion? And in all that great body of laws registered in the decretum, and the decretals, Clementins, and extravagants, there is no sign or distinctive cognizance of one from another, and yet some of them are regarded, and very many are not. When pope Stephen[q] decreed that those who were converted from heresy should not be re-baptized; and to that purpose wrote against St. Cyprian in the question, and declared it to be unlawful, and threatened excommunication to them that did it, as St. Austin tells; St. Cyprian regarded it not, but he and a council of fourscore bishops decreed it ought to be done, and did so to their dying day. Bellarmine admits all this to be true; but says, that pope Stephen did not declare this 'tanquam de fide;' but that after this definition it was free to every one to think as they list; nay, that though it was plain that St. Cyprian refused to obey the pope's sentence, yet "non est omninò certum," that he did sin mortally[r]. By all this he hath made it apparent, that it cannot easily be known, when a pope does define a thing to be 'de fide,' or when it is a sin to disobey him, or when it is necessary he should be obeyed. Now then, since, in the canon law, there are so very many decrees, and yet no mark of difference, of right or wrong, necessary or not necessary; how shall we be able to know certainly in what state or condition the soul

[q] Euseb. lib. vii. hist. 4. c. 3 et 4. lib. de unico Baptis. c. 14.
[r] Bellar. lib. iv. de Pont. Rom. c. 7. Sect. Et per hoc.

of every of the pope's subjects is? especially since without any cognizance or certain mark, all the world are commanded, under pain of damnation, to obey the pope. In the extravagant 'de Majoritate et Obedientiâ' are these words: "Dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus absolutè necessarium ad salutem omnis humanæ creaturæ, subesse Romano Pontifici." Now when can it be thought that a pope defines any article 'in cathedra,' if these words, "Dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus, et necessarium ad salutem," be not sufficient to declare his intention? Now if this be true that the pope said this; he said true or false. If false, how sad is the condition of the Romanists, who are affrighted with the terrible threatenings of damnation for nothing: and if it be true, what became of the souls of St. Cyprian and the African bishops, who did not submit to the bishop of Rome, but called him "proud, ignorant, and of a dark and wicked mind[s]?" "Serio præcepit," said Bellarmine; "he seriously commanded it," but did not determine it as necessary: and how in a question of faith, and so great concern, this distinction can be of any avail, can never be known, and can never be proved; since they declare the pope sufficiently to be of that faith against St. Cyprian and the Africans, and that in pursuance of this his faith he proceeded so far and so violently. But now the matter is grown infinitely worse. For 1. the popes of Rome have made innumerable decrees[t] in the decretum, decretals, bulls, taxes, constitutions, Clementins, and extravagants. 2. They, as Albericus de Rosate, a great canonist, affirms, sometimes exalt their constitutions, and sometimes abase them, according to the times. And yet 3. All of them are verified and imposed under the same sanction by the council of Trent[u]; all, I say, which were ever made in favour of ecclesiastical persons, and the liberties of the church; which are indeed the greater part of all after Gratian's decree: witness the decretals of Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., the 'Collectio diversarum constitutionum et literarum Romanorum pontificum,' and the 'decretal epistles' of the Roman bishops in three volumes, besides the 'ecloga bullarum et motuum propriorum.' All

[s] Ep. S. Cyprian. ad Pompeium.
[t] In lib. Bene à Zenone c. de quadrien. præscript.
[u] Sess. 25. c. 20.

this is not only an intolerable burden to the Christian churches, but a snare to consciences, and no man can tell by all this that is before him, whether he deserve love or hatred, whether he be in the state of mortal sin, of damnation, or salvation. But this is no new thing: more than this was decreed in the ancient canon law itself[z]. "Sic omnes sanctiones apostolicæ sedis accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius Divinâ voce Petri firmatæ." And again, "Ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuò quidem et infragibiliter observandum est:" "All men must, at all times, with all submission, observe all things whatsoever are decreed or ordained by the Roman church." Nay, "licèt vix ferendum," although what that holy see imposes, be as yet "scarce tolerable," yet let us bear it, and with holy devotion, suffer it, says the canon, 'In memoriam[y].' And that all this might indeed be an intolerable yoke, the canon, "Nulli fas est," adds the pope's curse and final threatenings: "Sit ergo ruinæ suæ dolore prostratus, quisquis apostolicis voluerit contraire decretis;" and every one that obeys not the apostolical decrees, is "majoris excommunicationis dejectione adjiciendus." The canon is directed particularly against the clergy. And the gloss upon this canon affirms, that he who denies the pope's power of making canons (viz. to oblige the church), is a heretic. Now considering that the decree of Gratian is 'concordantia discordantiarum,' a heap or bundle of contrary opinions, doctrines, and rules; and they agree no otherwise than a hyena and a dog catched in the same snare, or put into a bag; and that the decretals and extravagants are, in very great parts of them, nothing but boxes of tyranny and error, usurpation and superstition; only that upon those boxes they write 'ecclesia catholica,' and that all these are commanded to be believed and observed respectively; and all gainsayers to be cursed and excommunicated; and that the twentieth part of them is not known to the Christian world, and some are rejected, and some never accepted, and some slighted into desuetude, and some thrown off as being a load too heavy, and yet that there is no rule to discern these things: it must follow that matters of faith determined and recorded in the canon law, and the laws of manners

[z] Decret. dist. 19. Sic omnes. c. Enimvero. [y] Ibid.

there established, and the matter of salvation and damnation consequent to the observation or not observation of them, must needs be infinitely uncertain, and no man can from their grounds know what shall become of him.

There are so very many points of faith in the church of Rome, and so many decrees of councils, which, when they please, make an article of faith, and so many are presumptuously by private doctors affirmed to be 'de fide,' which are not; that, considering that the common people are not taught to rely upon the plain words of Scripture, and the apostles' creed, for a sufficient rule of their faith, but are threatened with damnation, if they do not believe whatever their church hath determined; and yet they neither do, nor can know it but by the word of their parish priest, or confessor; it lies in the hand of every parish priest to make the people believe any thing, and be of any religion, and trust to any article, as they shall choose, and find to their purpose. The council of Trent requires traditions to be added, and received equal with Scriptures; they both, not singly, but in conjunction, making up the full object of faith; and so the most learned, and, indeed, generally their whole church, understands one to be incomplete without the other: and yet, Master White, who I suppose tells the same thing to his neighbours, affirms that it is not the catholic position, that all its doctrines are not contained in Scripture: which proposition being tied with the decree of the council of Trent, gives a very good account of it, and makes it excellent sense. Thus, "traditions must be received with equal authority to the Scripture," saith the council; and wonder not; for, saith Master White, "all the traditions of the church are in Scripture."—You may believe so, if you please; for the contrary is not a catholic doctrine. But if these two things do not agree better, then it will be hard to tell what regard will be had to what the council says: the people know not that, but as their priest teaches them. And though they are bound under greatest pains to believe the whole catholic religion, yet that the priests themselves do not know it, or wilfully mis-report it,—and, therefore, that the people cannot tell it;—it is too evident in this instance, and in the multitude of disputes, which are amongst themselves, about many considerable

articles in their catholic religion. Pius V., speaking of Thomas Aquinas, calls his doctrine 'the most certain rule of Christian religion [z].' And divers particulars of the religion of the Romanists are proved out of the revelations of St. Bridget, which are contradicted by those of St. Catharine of Sienna. Now, they not relying on the way of God, fall into the hands of men, who teach them according to the interest of their order, or private fancy, and expound their rules by measures of their own; but yet, such which they make to be the measures of salvation and damnation. They are taught to rely for their faith upon the church; and this, when it comes to practice, is nothing but their private priest; and he does not always tell them the sense of their church, and is not infallible in declaring the sense of it, and is not always (as appears in the instance now set down) faithful in relating of it, but first cozens himself by his subtility, and then others by his confidence; and, therefore, it is impossible there can be any certainty to them that proceed this way, when God hath so plainly given them a better, and requires of them nothing but to live a holy life, as a superstructure of Christian faith, described by the apostles in plain places of Scripture, and in the apostolical creed; in which they can suffer no illusion, and where there is no uncertainty in the matters to be believed.

4. The next thing I observe is, that they all, talking of the church, as of a charm and sacred amulet, yet cannot, by all their arts, make us certain where, or how, infallibly to find this church. I have, already, in this section, proved this in the main inquiry, by showing that the church is that body, which they do not rely upon: but now I shall show that the church which they would point out, can never be certainly known to be the true church, by those indications and signs, which they offer to the world as her characteristic notes. St. Austin [a], in his excellent book, 'De Unitate Ecclesiæ,' affirms, that the church is no where to be found, but in "Præscripto legis, in prophetarum prædictis, in psalmorum cantibus, in ipsius pastoris

[z] Vide Wadding of Immac. Concept. p. 282. et p. 334. et alibi.

[a] Lib. de Unit. Eccles. cap. 17. Ergo in Scripturis canonicis eam (ecclesiam) requiramus, cap. 3.

vocibus, in evangelistarum prædicationibus et laboribus; hoc est, in omnibus sanctorum canonicis autoritatibus;" in the Scriptures only. And he gives but one great note of it, and that is, "adhering to the head Jesus Christ; for the church is Christ's body, who by charity are united to one another, and to Christ their head; and he that is not a member of Christ, cannot obtain salvation."—And he adds no other mark; but that Christ's church is not this, or that, viz., not of one denomination; but *καθ' ὅλον* dispersed over the face of the earth. The church of Rome makes adhesion to the head [b], not Jesus Christ, but the bishop of Rome, to be of the essential constitution of the church. Now this, being the great question between the church of Rome and the Greek church, and, indeed, of all other churches of the world; is so far from being a sign to know the church by, that it is apparent they have no ground of their faith; but the great question of Christendom; and that which is condemned by all the Christian world but themselves, is their foundation.

And this is so much the more considerable, because, concerning very many heads of their church, it was too apparent that they were not so much as members of Christ, but the basest of criminals, and enemies of all godliness. And concerning others that were not so notoriously wicked, they could not be certain that they were members of Christ; or that they were not of their father the devil. The spirit of truth was promised to the apostles upon condition; and Judas fell from it by transgression. But the uncertainties are yet greater.

Adhering to the pope cannot be a certain note of the church; because no man can be certain, who is true pope. For the pope, if he be a simoniac, is 'ipso facto' no pope: as appears in the bull of Julius II. And yet, besides that he himself was called a most notorious simoniac, Sixtus V. gave an obligation under his hand, upon condition that the cardinal d'Este would bring over his voices to him, and make him pope, that he would never make Hierom Matthew a cardinal; which when he broke, the cardinal sent his

[b] Bellarm. de Eccles. Militant. lib. iii. Sect. Nostra autem sententia.

obligation to the king of Spain, who intended to accuse him of simony; but it broke the pope's heart, and so he escaped here, and was reserved to be heard before a more unerring judicatory. And when Pius IV. used all the secret arts to dissolve the council of Trent, and yet not to be seen in it, and to that purpose despatched away the bishops from Rome, he forbid the archbishop of Turris to go, because he had been too free in declaring his opinion for the 'Jus Divinum' of the residence of bishops[c]; he at the same time durst not trust the bishop of Cesena, for a more secret reason; but it was known enough to many. He was a familiar friend of the cardinal of Naples, whose father the count of Montebello had in his hand an obligation, which that pope had given to the cardinal for a sum of money, for his voice in the election of him to the papacy. And all the world have been full of noises and pasquils, sober and grave, comical and tragical accusations of the simony of the popes, for divers ages together; and since no man can certainly know that the pope is not simoniacal, no man can safely rely on him as a true pope, or the true pope for an infallible judge.

2. If the pope be a heretic, he is 'ipso facto' no pope; now that this is very possible, Bellarmine supposes, because he makes that one of the necessary cases, in which a general council is to be called, as I have shown above. And this uncertainty is manifest in an instance that never can be wiped off: for when Liberius had subscribed Arianism, and the condemnation of St. Athanasius, and the Roman clergy had deprived Liberius of his papacy, St. Felix was made pope; and then, either Liberius was no pope, or St. Felix was not; and one was a heretic, or the other a schismatic: and then, as it was hard to tell who was their church's head, so it was impossible, that by adherence to either of them, their subjects could be proved to be catholics.

3. There have been many schisms in the church of Rome, and many anti-popes, which were acknowledged for true and legitimate, by several churches and kingdoms respectively; and some that were chosen into the places of the deposed, even by councils, were, a while after, disowned, and others

[c] Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. vii. A.D. 1562.

chosen; which was a known case, in the times of the councils of Constance and Basil. And when a council was sitting, and it became a question, who had power to choose, the council or the cardinals,—what man could cast his hopes of eternity upon the adherence to one, the certainty of whose legitimation was determined by power and interest, and could not by all the learning and wisdom of Christendom?

4. There was one pope who was made head of the church before he was a priest: it was Constantine II., who certainly succeeded not in St. Peter's privileges, when he was not capable of his chair; and yet he was their head of the church for a year: but how adherence to the pope should then be a note of the church, I desire to know from some of the Roman lawyers; for the divines know it not. I will not trouble this account with any questions about the female head of their church; I need not seek for matter, I am pressed with too much; and, therefore, I shall omit very many other considerations about the nullities, and insufficiencies, and impieties, and irregularities of many popes; and consider their other notes of the church, to try if they can fix this inquiry upon any certainty.

Bellarmine reckons fifteen notes of the church. It is a mighty hue and cry after a thing that he pretends is visible to all the world. 1. The very name 'catholic,' is his first note: he might as well have said the word church is a note of the church; for he cannot be ignorant, but that Christians who esteem themselves members of the church, think and call themselves members of the catholic church; and the Greeks give the same title to their churches. Nay, all conventions of heretics anciently did so; and, therefore, I shall quit Bellarmine of this note, by the words of Lactantius, which himself[d] also (a little forgetting himself) quotes, "Sed tamen singuli quique hæreticorum cœtus, se potissimum Christianos, et suam esse catholicam ecclesiam putant." 2. 'Antiquity,' indeed, is a note of the church, and Salmeron proves it to be so, from the example of Adam and Eve, most learnedly. But the certainty that God had a church in Paradise, is as good an argument for the church

[d] Bellarm. lib. iv. de Notis Eccles. cap. 1. Lact. lib. iii. Divinar. Institut. cap. ult.

of England and Ireland, as for Rome; for we derive from them as certainly as do the Italians, and have as much of Adam's religion as they have. But a church might have been very ancient, and yet become no church; and without separating from a greater church. The church of the Jews is the great example; and the church of Rome, unless she takes better heed, may be another. St. Paul hath plainly threatened it to the church of Rome[e]. 3. 'Duration' is made a note; now this respects the time past, or the time to come. If the time past, then the church of Britain was Christian before Rome was; and, blessed be God, is so at this day. If Duration means the time to come; for so Bellarmine says[f], "Ecclesia dicitur catholica, non solùm quia semper fuit, sed etiam quia semper erit:" so we have a rare note for us who are alive, to discern the church of Rome to be the catholic church, and we may possibly come to know it by this sign, many ages after we are dead, because she will last always. But this sign is not yet come to pass; and when it shall come to pass, it will prove our church to be the catholic church, as well as that of Rome, and the Greek church as well as both of us; for these churches, at least some of them, have begun sooner, and for aught they or we know, they all may so continue longer. 4. 'Amplitude' was no note of the church when the world was Arian, and is as little now, because that great part of Europe is papal. 5. 'Succession of bishops' is an excellent conservatory of Christian doctrine, but it is as notorious in the Greek church as in the Roman; and, therefore, cannot signify which is the true church, unless they be both true, and then the church of England can claim, by this tenure, as having, since her being Christian, a succession of bishops never interrupted, but, as all others have been, in persecution. 6. 'Consent in doctrine with the ancient church' may be a good sign or a bad, as it happens; but the church of Rome hath not, and never can prove the pure and prime antiquity to be of her side. 7. 'Union of members among themselves, and with their head,' is very good, if the members be united in truth (for else it may be a conspiracy), and if by head be meant Jesus Christ: and indeed this is the only true sign of the church: but if by head be meant the Roman pope, it may be 'ecclesia malignantium,' and Antichrist

[e] Rom. xi. 20, 21. [f] De notis Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 6.

may sit in the chair. But the uncertainty of this note, as it relates to this question, I have already manifested; and what excellent concord there is in the church of Rome, we are taught by the question of supremacy of councils or popes; and now also by the strict and loving concord between the Jansenists and Molinists; and the abettors of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mother, with their antagonists. 8. 'Sanctity of doctrine' is an excellent note of the church; but that is the question among all the pretenders, and is not any advantage to the church of Rome, unless it be a holy thing to worship images, to trample upon kings, to reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven at the last minute, by the charm of external ministries; to domineer over consciences, to impose useless and intolerable burdens, to damn all the world that are not their slaves, to shut up the fountains of salvation from the people; to be easier in dispensing with the laws of God, than the laws of the church; to give leave to princes to break their oaths, as pope Clement VII.[g] did to Francis I. of France, to cozen the emperor; and as pope Julius II.[h] did to Ferdinand of Arragon, sending him an absolution for his treachery against the king of France, not to keep faith with heretics; to find out tricks to entrap them that trusted to their letters of safe conduct; to declare that popes cannot be bound by their promises: for pope Paul IV.[i] in a conclave, A. D. 1555, complained of them that said he could make but four cardinals, because (forsooth) he had sworn so in the conclave, saying, this was to bind the pope, whose authority is absolute; that it is an article of faith that the pope cannot be bound, much less can he bind himself, that to say otherwise was a manifest heresy; and against them that should obstinately persevere in saying so, he threatened the inquisition. These, indeed, are holy doctrines, taught and practised respectively by their holinesses at Rome, and, indeed, are the notes of their church; if by the doctrine of the head, to whom they are bound to adhere, we may guess at the doctrine of their body. 9. 'The prevalency of their doctrine' is produced for

[g] Vid. The Legend of Flamens and Revieue.
[h] De Concile de Trente, lib. iv. c. 7.
[i] Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. v.

a good note; and yet this is a greater note of Mahometanism, than of Christianity, and was once of Arianism: and yet the argument is not now so good at Rome, as it was before Luther's time. 10. That 'the chiefs of the pope's religion lived more holy lives than others,' gives some light that their church is the true one. But I had thought that their popes had been the chiefs of their religion, till now,—and if so, then this was a good note, while they did live well; but that was before popery. Since that time, we will guess at their church by the holiness of the lives of those that rule and teach all; and then if we have none to follow amongst us, yet we know whom we are to fly amongst them. 11. 'Miracles' were, in the beginning of Christianity, a note of true believers; Christ told us so[k]. And he also taught us that Antichrist should be revealed in lying signs and wonders; and commanded us, by that token, to take heed of them. And the church of Rome would take it ill, if we should call them, as St. Austin did the Donatists, 'mirabiliarios,' 'miracle-mongers;' concerning which, he that pleases to read that excellent tract of St. Austin, 'De Unitate Ecclesiæ,' cap. 14. will be sufficiently satisfied in this particular, and in the main ground and foundation of the protestant religion. In the mean time it may suffice, that Bellarmine says[l], 'miracles are a sign of the true church;' and Salmeron says, that 'they are no certain signs of the true church, but may be done by the false.' 12. 'The spirit of prophecy' is also a pretty sure note of the true church, and yet, in the dispute between Israel and Judah, Samaria and Jerusalem, it was of no force, but was really in both. And at the day of judgment Christ shall reject some, who will allege that they prophesied in his name. I deny not but there have been some prophets in the church of Rome: Johannes de Rupe Scissâ, Anselmus, Marsicanus, Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, St. Hildegardis, abbot Joachim, whose prophecies and pictures prophetical were published by Theophrastus Paracelsus, and John Adrasder, and by Paschalinus Regiselmus at Venice, 1589; but (as Ahab said, concerning Micaiah) these do not prophesy good concerning Rome, but evil: and that Rome should be reformed 'in ore gladii crueptandi' was one of the

[k] Mark, xvi. 17. [l] Tom. xiii. p. 193.

prophecies; and, 'universa sanctorum ecclesia abscondetur,' 'that the whole church of the saints shall be hidden,' viz. in the days of Antichrist; and that in the days of darkness, the elect of God shall have that faith, or wisdom to themselves, which they have, and shall not dare to preach it publicly, was another prophecy, and carries its meaning upon the forehead, and many more I could tell; but whether such prophecies as these be good signs that the church of Rome is the true church, I desire to be informed by the Roman doctors, before I trouble myself any further to consider the particulars. 13. Towards the latter end of this catalogue of wonderful signs, the 'confession of adversaries' is brought in for a note; and no question they intended it so! But did ever any protestant, remaining so, confess the church of Rome to be the true catholic church? Let the man be named, and a sufficient testimony brought, that he was 'mentis compos,' and I will grant to the church of Rome this to be the best note they have. 14. But since 'the enemies of the church have all had tragical ends,' it is no question but this signifies the church of Rome to be the only church. Indeed, if all the protestants had died unnatural deaths; and all the papists, nay, if all the popes had died quietly in their beds, we had reason to deplore our sad calamity, and inquired after the cause; but we could never have told by this: for, by all that is before him, a man cannot tell whether he deserves love or hatred. And all the world finds, that, as dies the papist, so dies the protestant; and the like event happens to them all: excepting only some popes have been remarked by their own histories, for funest and direful deaths. 15. And lately, 'temporal prosperity' is brought for a note of the true church; and for this there is great reason: because the cross is the highway to heaven, and Christ promised to his disciples, for their lot in this world, great and lasting persecutions, and the church felt his blessing for three hundred years together. But this had been a better argument in the mouth of a Turkish mufti, than a Roman cardinal.

And now, if by all these things, we cannot certainly know that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, how shall the poor Roman Catholic be at rest in his inquiry?

Here is in all this, nothing but uncertainty of truth, or certainty of error.

And what is needful to be added more? I might tire myself and my reader, if I should enumerate all that were very considerable in this inquiry. I shall not, therefore, insist upon their uncertainties in their great and considerable questions about the number of the sacraments: which to be seven is with them an article of faith; and yet since there is not amongst them any authentic definition of a sacrament; and it is not, nor cannot be a matter of faith, to tell what is the form of a sacrament; therefore; it is impossible it should be a matter of faith, to tell how many they are: for in this case they cannot tell the number, unless they know for what reason they are to be accounted so. The fathers and schoolmen differ greatly in the definition of a sacrament; and consequently in the numbering of them. St. Cyprian and St. Bernard reckon 'washing the disciples' feet' to be a sacrament; and St. Austin called 'omnem ritum cultus Divini,' a sacrament; and otherwhile he says, there are but two: and the schoolmen dispute whether or no, a sacrament can be defined. And by the council of Trent, clandestine marriages are said to be a sacrament; and yet that the church always detested them: which indeed might very well be, for the blessed eucharist is a sacrament, but yet private masses and communions the ancient church always did detest, except in the cases of necessity. But then, when at Trent they declared them to be nullities, it would be very hard to prove them to be sacraments. All the whole affair in their sacrament of order, is a body of contingent propositions. They cannot agree where the apostles received their several orders, by what form of words; and whether at one time, or by parts: and in the institution of the Lord's supper, the same words by which some of them say they were made priests, they generally expound them to signify a duty of the laity, as well as the clergy; 'Hoc facite,' which signifies one thing to the priest, and another to the people, and yet there is no mark of difference. They cannot agree where, or by whom, extreme unction was instituted. They cannot tell, whether any wafer be actually transubstantiated, because they never can know by Divine faith, whether the supposed priest be a real priest,

or had right intention; and yet they certainly do worship it in the midst of all uncertainties. But I will add nothing more, but this; what wonder is it, if all things in the church of Rome be uncertain; when they cannot, dare not, trust their reason or their senses in the wonderful invention of transubstantiation? and when many of their wisest doctors profess that their pretended infallibility does finally rely upon prudential motives?

I conclude this, therefore, with the words of St. Austin[m]: "Remotis ergo omnibus talibus, &c." "All things, therefore, being removed, let them demonstrate their church if they can, not in the sermons and rumours of the Africans (Romans), not in the councils of their bishops, not in the letters of any disputers, not in signs and deceitful miracles; because against these things, we are warned and prepared by the word of the Lord: but in the prescript of the law, of the prophets, of the psalms, of the evangelists, and all the canonical authorities of the holy books." And that is my next undertaking; to show the firmness of the foundation, and the great principle of the religion of the church of England and Ireland; even the Holy Scriptures.

SECTION II.

Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures to Salvation, which is the great Foundation and Ground of the Protestant Religion.

This question is between the church of Rome and the church of England; and, therefore, it supposes that it is amongst them who believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God. The Old and New Testament are agreed upon to be the Word of God; and that they are so, is delivered to us by the current descending testimony of all ages of Christianity: and they who thus are first led into this belief, find, upon trial, great after-proofs by arguments both external and internal, and such as cause a perfect adhesion

[m] De Unit. Eccles. c. 16.

to this truth; that they are God's word: an adhesion (I say) so perfect, as excludes all manner of practical doubting. Now then amongst us so persuaded, the question is, whether or no the Scriptures be a sufficient rule of our faith, and contain in them all things necessary to salvation? Or, is there any other word of God besides the Scriptures, which delivers any points of faith or doctrines of life necessary to salvation? This was the state of the question till yesterday. And although the church of Rome affirmed tradition to be a part of the object of faith, and that without the addition of doctrine, and practices delivered by tradition, the Scriptures were not a perfect rule; but together with tradition they are: yet now two or three gentlemen have got upon the coach wheel, and have raised a cloud of dust, enough to put out the eyes even of their own party, making them not to see, what till now all their seers told them; and tradition is not only a suppletory to the deficiencies of Scripture, but it is now the only record of faith[a]. But because this is too bold and impossible an attempt, and hath lately been sufficiently reproved by some learned persons of our church; I shall, therefore, not trouble myself with such a frontless error and illusion; but speak that truth which by justifying the Scripture's fulness and perfection will overthrow the doctrine of the Roman church denying it, and, 'ex abundanti,' cast down this new mud wall, thrown into a dirty heap by M. W. and his under-dawber M. S., who with great pleasure behold and wonder at their own work, and call it a marble-building.

1. That the Scripture is a full and sufficient rule to Christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the will of God, is therefore certain, because we have no other. For if we consider the grounds upon which all Christians believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, the same grounds prove that nothing else is. These indeed have a testimony that is credible as any thing that makes faith to men, the universal testimony of all Christians: in respect of which St. Austin said, "Evangelio non crederem," &c. "I should not believe the Gospel, if the authority of the church," (that is, of the universal church) "did

[a] Vid. hist. Concil. Trident. sub Paul. 3. A. D. 1546.

not move me." The apostles at first owned these writings; the churches received them; they transmitted them to their posterity; they grounded their faith upon them; they proved their propositions by them; by them they confuted heretics; and they made them the measures of right and wrong; all that collective body of doctrines, of which all Christians consentingly made public confessions, and on which all their hopes of salvation did rely, were all contained in them; and they agreed in no point of faith, which is not plainly set down in Scripture. And all this is so certain, that we all profess ourselves ready to believe any other article, which can pretend and prove itself thus proved, thus descended. For we know, a doctrine is neither more nor less the word of God for being written or unwritten; that is but accidental and extrinsical to it; for it was first unwritten, and then the same thing was written; only when it was written it was better conserved, and surer transmitted, and not easily altered, and more fitted to be a rule. And indeed only can be so: not but that every word of God is as much a rule as any word of God; but we are sure that what is so written, and so transmitted, is God's word; whereas concerning other things which were not written, we have no certain records, no evident proof, no sufficient conviction; and, therefore, it is not capable of being owned as the rule of faith or life, because we do not know it to be the Word of God. If any doctrine which is offered to us by the church of Rome, and which is not in Scripture, be proved as Scripture is, we receive it equally: but if it be not, it is to be received according to the degree of its probation; and if it once comes to be disputed by wise and good men, if it came in after the apostles, if it rely but upon a few testimonies, or is to be laboriously argued into a precarious persuasion, it cannot be the true ground of faith; and salvation can never rely upon it. The truth of the assumption in this argument will rely upon an induction, of which all churches have a sufficient experience, — there being in no church any one instance of doctrine of faith or life, that can pretend to a clear, universal tradition and testimony of the first and of all ages and churches, but only the doctrine contained in the undoubted books of the Old and New Testament. And in the matter of good

life, the case is evident and certain; which makes the other also to be like it; for there is no original or primary commandment concerning good life, but it is plainly and notoriously found in Scripture: now faith being the foundation of good life, upon which it is most rationally and permanently built; it is strange that Scripture should be sufficient to teach us all the whole superstructure, and yet be defective in the foundation.

Neither do we doubt but that there were many things spoken by Christ and his apostles, which were never written; and yet those few only that were written, are, by the Divine providence, and the care of the catholic church of the first and all descending ages, preserved to us, and made our Gospel. So that as we do not dispute, whether the words which Christ spake, and the miracles he did, and are not written, be as holy and as true as those which are written; but only say, they are not our rule and measures, because they are unknown: so there is no dispute, whether they be to be preferred or relied upon, as the written or unwritten word of God; for both are to be relied upon, and both equally; always provided that they be equally known to be so. But that which we say is, that there are many which are called traditions, which are not the unwritten word of God; at least not known so to be: and the doctrines of men are pretended and obtruded as the commandments of God; and the testimonies of a few men are made to support a weight as great as that which relies upon universal testimony; and particular traditions are equalled to universal, the uncertain to the certain; and traditions are said to be apostolical if they be but ancient; and if they come from we know not whom, they are said to come from the apostles; and if postnate, they are called primitive; and they are argued and laboriously disputed into the title of apostolical traditions, by not only fallible but fallacious arguments, as will appear in the following numbers. This is the state of the question; and, therefore, 1. It proves itself, because there can be no proof to the contrary; since the older the tradition is, the more likely it can be proved, as being nearer the fountain, and not having had a long current, which, as a long line is always the weakest, so in long descent is most likely to be corrupted, and, therefore, a late tradition is

one of the worst arguments in the world; it follows that nothing can now, because nothing of faith yet hath been sufficiently proved.

2. But besides this consideration, the Scripture itself is the best testimony of its own fulness and sufficiency. I have already, in the introduction against J. S., proved from Scripture, that all necessary things of salvation are there abundantly contained; that is, I have proved that Scripture says so. Neither ought it to be replied here, that no man's testimony concerning himself is to be accepted. For here we suppose that we are agreed, that the Scripture says true, that it is the word of God, and cannot be deceived; and if this be allowed, the Scripture then can give testimony concerning itself: and so can any man, if you allow him to be infallible, and all that he says to be true; which is the case of Scripture in the present controversy. And if you will not allow Scripture to give testimony to itself, who shall give testimony to it? Shall the church, or the pope, suppose which we will? But who shall give testimony to them? Shall they give credit to Scripture, before it be known how they come themselves to be credible? If they be not credible of themselves, we are not the nearer for their giving their testimony to the Scriptures. But if it be said, that the church is of itself credible upon its own authority, this must be proved before it can be admitted, and then how shall this be proved? And, at least, the Scripture will be pretended to be of itself credible as the church. And since it is evident that all the dignity, power, authority, office, and sanctity, it hath, or pretends to have, can no other way be proved but by the Scriptures, a conformity to them in all doctrines, laws, and manners, being the only charter by which she claims: it must needs be, that Scripture hath the prior right; and can better be primely credible than the church, or any thing else that claims from Scripture. Nay, therefore, 'quoad nos,' it is to be allowed to be primely credible; because there is no creature besides it that is so. Indeed God was pleased to find out ways to prove the Scriptures to be his word, his immediate word, by miraculous consignations, and sufficient testimony, and confession of enemies, and of all men that were fit to bear witness, that these books were written by such men, who, by miracle, were proved to be 'Divini

homines,' men endued with God's Spirit, and trusted with his message; and when it was thus far proved by God, it became the immediate and sole ministry of entire salvation, and the whole repository of the Divine will: and when things were come thus far, if it be inquired whether the Scriptures were a sufficient institution to salvation, we need no other, we can have no better testimony than itself, concerning itself. And to this purpose I have already brought from it sufficient affirmation of the point in question, in the preceding answer to J. S.'s First Way, in his fourth appendix.

3. It is possible, that the Scriptures should contain in them all things necessary to salvation. God could cause such a book to be written. And he did so to the Jews; he caused his whole law to be written, he engraved in stones, he commanded the authentic copy to be kept in the ark, and this was the great security of the conveying it; and tradition was not relied upon: it was not trusted with any law of faith or manners. Now, since this was once done, and, therefore, is always possible to be done, why it should not be done now, there is no pretence of reason, but very much for it. For, 1. Why should the book of St. Matthew be called the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and this is also the very title of St. Mark's book; and St. Luke affirms the design of his book is 'to declare the certainty of the things then believed,' and in which his friend was instructed, which we cannot but suppose to be the whole doctrine of salvation? 2. What end could there be in writing these books, but to preserve the memory of Christ's history and doctrine? 3. Especially if we consider that many things which were not absolutely necessary to salvation, were set down; and, therefore, to omit any thing that is necessary, must needs be an unreasonable and unprofitable way of writing. 4. There yet never was any catholic father that did affirm in terms, or in full and equivalent sense, that the Scriptures are defective in the recording any thing necessary to salvation; but unanimously they taught the contrary, as I shall show by and by. 5. The enemies of Christian religion opposed themselves against the doctrine contained in the Scriptures, and supposed, by that means, to conclude against Christianity, and they knew no other repository of it, and estimated no

other. 6. The persecutors of Christianity, intending to destroy Christianity, hoped to prevail by causing the Bibles to be burnt; which had been a foolish and unlikely design, if that had not been the ark that kept the records of the whole Christian law. 7. That the revealed will of God, the law of Christ, was not written in his lifetime, but preached only by word of mouth, is plain and reasonable; because all was not finished; and the salvation of man was not perfected till the resurrection, ascension, and descent of the Holy Ghost; nor was it done presently. But then it is to be observed, that there was a Spirit of infallible record put into the apostles, sufficient for its publication and continuance. But before the death of the apostles, that is, before this Spirit of infallibility was to depart, all was written that was intended; because nothing else could infallibly convey the doctrine. Now, this being the case of every doctrine as much as of any, and the case of the whole, rather than of any part of it; it must follow, that it was highly agreeable to the Divine wisdom, and the very end of this economy, that all should be written; and for no other reason could the evangelists and apostles write so many books.

4. But of the sufficiency of Scripture we may be convinced by the very nature of the thing. For the sermons of salvation being preached to all, to the learned and unlearned, it must be a common concern, and, therefore, fitted to all capacities, and, consequently, made easy for easy learners. Now, this design is plainly signified to us in Scripture by the abbreviatures, the symbols and catalogues of 'credenda;' which are short, and plain, and easy; and to which salvation is promised. Now if "he that believes Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, hath eternal life[a]; that is, so far as the value and acceptability of believing does extend, this faith shall prevail unto salvation; it follows, that this being the affirmation of Scripture, and declared to be a competent foundation of faith; the Scripture that contains much more, even the whole economy of salvation by Jesus Christ, cannot want any necessary thing, when the absolute necessities are so narrow. Christ, the Son of God, is the great adequate object of saving faith; "to know God, and whom he hath

[a] 1 John, v. 10. John, xvii. 3.

sent, Jesus Christ, this is eternal life[r]." Now this is the great design of the Gospel; and is revealed largely in the Scriptures; so that there is no adequate object of faith, but what is there. 2. As to the attributes of God, and of Christ, that is, all that is known of them, and to be known, is set down in Scripture; that 'God is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him;' that he is the Fountain of wisdom, justice, holiness, power; that his providence is over all, and mercy unto all: and concerning Christ; all the attributes and qualifications, by which he is capable and fitted to do the work of redemption for us, and to become our Lord, and the great King of heaven and earth, able to destroy all his enemies eternally, and to reward his servants with a glorious and indefectible kingdom: all this is declared in Scripture. So that concerning the full object of faith manifested in the whole design of the Gospel, the Scriptures are full, and whatever is to be believed of the attributes belonging to this prime and full object, all that also is, in Scripture, fully declared. And all the acts of faith, the antecedents, the formal, and the consequent acts of faith, are there expresly commanded; viz. to know God, to believe in his name and word, to believe in his Son; and to obey his Son, by the consequent acts of faith; all this is set down in Scripture: in which not only we are commanded to keep the commandments, but we are told which they are. There we are taught to honour and fear, to love and obey God and his holy Son; to fear and reverence him, to adore and invocate him, to crave his aid, and to give him thanks; not to trust in, or call upon, any thing that hath no Divine empire over us, or Divine excellence in itself. It is so particular in recounting all the parts of duty, that it descends specially to enumerate the duties of kings and subjects, bishops and people, parents and children, masters and servants; to show love and faithfulness to our equals; to our inferiors counsel and help, favour and good will, bounty and kindness, a good word and a good deed: the Scripture hath given us commandments concerning our very thoughts; to be thankful and hospitable, to be humble and complying; whatever good thing was taught by any or all the philosophers in the world, all that, and much more, is in the Scriptures, and that in a much better manner: and

[r] John, xvii. 3.

that it might appear that nothing could be wanting, the very degrees and order of virtues is there provided for. And if all this be not the high way to salvation, and sufficient to all intents of God and the souls of men, let any man come forth and say, as Christ said to the young man, "Restat adhuc unum," "there is one thing wanting yet,"—and let him show it. But let us consider a little further.

5. What is, or what can be wanting to the fulness of Scripture? Is not all that we know of the life and death of Jesus, set down in the writings of the New Testament? Is there any one miracle that ever Christ did, the notice of which is conveyed to us by tradition? Do we know any thing that Christ did or said but what is in Scripture? Some things were reported to have been said by Christ secretly to the apostles, and by the apostles secretly to some favourite disciples; but some of these things are not believed; and none of the other is known: so that either we must conclude that the Scripture contains fully all things of faith and obedience, or else we have no Gospel at all; for, except what is in Scripture, we have not a sufficient record of almost one saying, or one miracle. St. Paul quotes one saying of Christ, which is not in any of the four Gospels, but it is in the Scriptures, "It is better to give than to receive;" and St. Jerome records another, "Be never very glad, but when you see your brother live in charity."—If St. Paul had not written the first, and transmitted it in Scripture, we had not known it any more than those many other which are lost for not being written: and for the quotation of St. Jerome, it is true, it is a good saying; but whether they were Christ's words or no, we have but a single testimony. Now, then, how is it possible that the Scriptures should not contain all things necessary to salvation; when of all the words of Christ,—in which certainly all necessary things to salvation must needs be contained, or else they were never revealed,—there is not any one saying, or miracle, or story of Christ, in any thing that is material, preserved in any indubitable record, but in Scripture alone?

6. That the Scriptures do not contain in them all things necessary to salvation, is the fountain of many great and capital errors; I instance in the whole doctrine of the libertines, familists, quakers, and other enthusiasts, which issue

from this corrupted fountain. For this, that the Scriptures do need a suppletory, that they are not perfect and sufficient to salvation of themselves, is the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the great fundamental both of the Roman religion, and that of the libertines and quakers, and those whom in Germany they call 'spirituales;' such as David George, Harry Nicholas, Swenckfeld, Sebastian Franck, and others. These are the men that call the Scriptures, "The letter of the Scripture, the dead letter, insufficient, inefficacious. This is but the sheath and the scabbard, the bark and the shadow, a carcass void of the internal light, not apt to imprint a perfect knowledge in us of what is necessary to salvation." But the Roman doctors say the same things. We know who they are that call the Scriptures [q], the "Outward letter, ink thus figured in a book, unsensed characters, waxed-natured words not yet sensed, apt to blunder and confound, but to clear little or nothing:" these are as bad words as the other, and some of them the same; and all draw a long tail of evil consequents behind them. 1. From this principle, as it is promoted by the fanatics, they derive a wandering, unsettled, and a dissolute religion. For they, supplying the insufficiency of Scripture by an inward word, which being only within, it is subject to no discipline, reducible into no order, not 'submitted to the spirits of the prophets,' and hath no rule by which it can be directed, examined, or judged: hence comes the infinite variety and contradictions of religion, commenced by men of this persuasion. A religion that wanders from day to day, from fancy to fancy, and alterable by every new illusion. A religion in which some man shall be esteemed an infallible judge to-day, and next week another: but it may happen, that any man may have his turn, and any mischief may be believed and acted, if the devil get into the chair. 2. From this very same principle, as it is promoted by the papists, they derive a religion imperious, interested, and tyrannical. For, as the fanatics supply the insufficiency of Scripture by the word internal, so do the Roman doctors by the authority of the church: but when it comes to practice, as the fanatics give the supreme power of teaching and defining to the 'chief elder in the love;' so do the papists,

[q] J. S. in Surefooting, and in Append. iv.

especially the jesuits, give it to the pope: and the difference is not, that the fanatics give the supreme judgment to some one, and the papists give it to the whole church; for these also give it but to one man, to the pope, whose judgment, voice, and definition, must make up the deficiencies of Scripture. But because the fanatics, as it happens, change their judge every month, therefore they have an ambulatory religion: but that of the Roman way establishes tyranny; because their judge being one, not in person but in succession, and having always the same interest, and having already resolved upon their way, and can, when they list, go further upon the stock of the same principles, and being established by human power will unalterably persist in their right and their wrong, and will never confess an error, and are impatient of contradiction; and, therefore, they impose irremediably, and what they please, upon consciences, of which they have made themselves judges. Now, for these things there is no remedy but from Scripture, which, if it be allowed full, perfect, and sufficient unto all the things of God, then whatsoever either of these parties say, must be tried by Scripture; it must be showed to be there, or be rejected. But to avoid the trial there, they tell you the Scripture is but a dead letter, unsensed characters, words without sense, or unsensed; and, therefore, this must be supplied by the inward word, says one; by the pope's word in cathedrâ, says the other; and then both the inward word and the pope's word shall rule and determine every thing; and the Scriptures will signify nothing: but as under pretence of the word internal, every new thing shall pass for the word of God, so it shall do also under the Roman pretence. For not he that makes a law, but he that expounds the law, gives the final measures of good or evil. It follows from hence, that nothing but the Scripture's sufficiency can be a sufficient limit to the inundation of evils, which may enter from these parties relying upon the same false principle. My last argument is from tradition itself: for,

7. If we inquire upon what grounds the primitive church did rely for their whole religion, we shall find they knew none else but the Scriptures, 'Ubi Scriptum?' was their first inquiry? 'Do the prophets and the apostles, the evan-

gelists, or the epistles say so? Read it there, and then teach it; else reject it:' they call upon their charges in the words of Christ, "Search the Scriptures;" they affirm that the Scriptures are full, that they are a perfect rule, that they contain all things necessary to salvation: and from hence they confuted all heresies.

This I shall clearly prove by abundant testimonies: of which though many of them have been already observed by very many learned persons; yet because I have added others, not so noted, and have collected with diligence and care, and have rescued them from elusory answers; I have therefore chosen to represent them together; hoping they may be of more usefulness than trouble, because I have here made a trial, whether the church of Rome be in good earnest, or no, when she pretends to follow tradition; or how it is that she expects a tradition shall be proved. For this doctrine of the Scripture's sufficiency I shall now prove by a full tradition; therefore, if she believes tradition, let her acknowledge this tradition which is so fully proved; and if this do not amount to a full probation, then it is but reasonable to expect from them, that they never obtrude upon us any thing for tradition, or any tradition for necessary to be believed, till they have proved it such,—by proofs more, and more clear, than this essay concerning the sufficiency and perfection of the Divine Scriptures.

I begin with St. Irenæus[r]. "We know that the Scriptures are perfect, for they are spoken by the word of God, and by his Spirit. Therefore[s] read diligently the Gospel, given unto us by the apostles; and read diligently the prophets, and you shall find every action and the whole doctrine, and the whole passion of our Lord preached in them. And indeed we have received the economy of our salvation by no other but by those, by whom the Gospel came to us; which truly they then preached, but afterwards, by the will of God, delivered to us in the Scriptures, which was to be the pillar and ground to our faith." These are the words of this saint,

[r] Rectissimè quidem scientes quia Scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe à verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ, lib. ii. c. 47.

[s] Lib. iv. c. 66. Legite diligentiùs id quod ab apostolis est evangelium nobis datum, et legite diligentiùs prophetas, et invenietis universam actionem, et omnem doctrinam Domini nostri prædicatam in ipsis.

who was one of the most ancient fathers of the church, a Greek by birth, by dignity and employment a bishop in France, and so most likely to know the sense and rule of the eastern and western churches.

Next to St. Irenæus, we have the doctrine of St. Clemens of Alexandria[1] in these words: "He hath lost the being a man of God, and of being faithful to the Lord, who hath kicked against tradition ecclesiastical, and hath turned to the opinions of human heresies." What is this tradition ecclesiastical; and where is it to be found? That follows, "But he, who returning out of error, obeys the Scriptures, and hath permitted his life to truth, he is, of a man, in a manner made a god. For the Lord is the principle of our doctrine, who by the prophets and the Gospel, and the blessed apostles, at sundry times, and in divers manners, leads us from the beginning to the end. He that is faithful of himself is worthy of faith in the voice and Scripture of the Lord, which is usually exercised through the Lord to the benefit of men, for this Scripture we use for the finding out of things, this we use as the rule of judging.——But if it be not enough to speak our opinions absolutely, but that we must prove what we say, we expect no testimony that is given by men, but by the voice of the Lord we prove the question; and this is more worthy of belief than any demonstration; or rather it is the only demonstration, by which knowledge they who have tasted of the Scriptures alone, are faithful." Afterwards he tells how the Scriptures are a perfect demonstration of the faith: "perfectly demonstrating out of the Scriptures themselves, concerning themselves, we speak or persuade demonstratively of the faith. Although even they that go after heresies, do dare to use the Scriptures of the prophets. But first they use not all, neither them that are perfect, nor as the whole body and contexture of the prophecy does dictate: but choosing out those things which are spoken ambiguously, they draw them to their own opinion."—Then he tells how we shall best use and understand the Scriptures: "Let every one consider what is agreeable to the Almighty Lord God, and what becomes him, and in that let him confirm every thing from those

[1] Strom. lib. vii. p. 757. edit. Paris. 1629.

things which are demonstrated from the Scriptures, out of those and the like Scriptures."—And he adds, that "it is the guise of heretics, when they are overcome by showing that they oppose Scriptures,—yet still they choose to follow that which to them seems evident, rather than that which is spoken of the Lord by the prophets, and by the Gospel, and what is proved and confirmed by the testimony of the apostles:"—and at last concludes[w], "they became impious, because they believe not the Scriptures;"—and a little before this, he asks the heretics, "Will they deny, or will they grant there is any demonstration? I suppose they will all grant there is; except those, who also deny that there are senses. But if there be any demonstration, it is necessary to descend to questions, and from the Scriptures[x] themselves to learn demonstratively, how the heresies are fallen; and on the contrary, how the most perfect knowledge is in the truth and the ancient church."—But again, "they that are ready to spend their time in the best things, will not give over seeking for truth, until they have found the demonstration from the Scriptures[y] themselves."—And after this, adds his advice to Christians, "to wax old in the Scriptures, and thence to seek for demonstrations."—These things he spoke, not only by way of caution to the Christians, but also of opposition to the Gnostics, who were very busy in pretending ancient traditions. This is the discourse of that great Christian philosopher St. Clement; from which, besides the direct testimony given to the fulness and sufficiency of Scripture in all matters of faith, or questions in religion; we find him affirming that the Scriptures are a certain, and the only demonstration of these things; they are the κριτήριον, 'the rule' of judging the controversies of faith; that the tradition ecclesiastical, that is, the whole doctrine taught by the church of God, and preached to all men, is in the Scripture; and therefore that it is the plenary and perfect repository of tradition, that is, of the doctrine delivered by Christ and his apostles: and they who believe not these, are impious. And lest any man should say, that, 'suppose Scripture do contain

[w] ἀσεβεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ταῖς γραφαῖς. page 755.

[x] καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν ἐκμανθάνειν ἀποδεικτικῶς.

[y] πρὶν ἂν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λάβωσι τῶν γραφῶν

all things necessary to salvation, yet it is necessary that tradition, or some infallible church, do expound them, and then it is as long as it is broad, and comes to the same issue;' St. Clement tells us how the Scriptures are to be expounded; saying, that "they who rely upon them, must expound Scriptures by Scriptures, and by the analogy of faith, 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual,' one place with another, a part with the whole, and all by the proportion to the Divine attributes." This was the way of the church in St. Clement's time; and this is the way of our churches. But let us see how this affair went in other churches and times, and whether there be a succession and an universality of this doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture in all the affairs of God.

The next is Tertullian[z], who writing against Hermogenes that affirmed God made the world not of nothing, but of I know not what pre-existent matter; appeals to Scripture in the question, whose fulness Tertullian adores; "Let the shop of Hermogenes show that this thing is written. If it be not written, let him fear the woe pronounced against them that add to or take from Scripture." Against this testimony it is objected, that 'here Tertullian speaks but of one question:' So Bellarmine[a] answers: and from him E. W. and A. L. To which the reply is easy: for when Tertullian challenges Hermogenes to show his proposition in Scripture, he must mean that the fulness of the Scripture was sufficient not only for this, but for all questions of religion;—or else it had been an ill way of arguing, to bring a negative argument from Scripture, against this alone. For why was Hermogenes tied to prove this proposition from Scripture more than any other? Either Scripture was the rule for all, or not for that. For suppose the heretic had said, 'It is true, it is not in Scripture; but I have it from tradition, or it was taught by my forefathers:' there had been nothing to have replied to this; but that, it may be, he had no tradition for it. Now if Hermogenes had no tradition, then indeed he was tied to show it in Scripture; but then Tertullian should have said, let Hermogenes show where it is written, or that it is a tradition: for if the pretending and proving tradition (in case

[z] Contr. Herm. c. 22.
[a] De verb. Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. Sect. Profert undecimò.

there were any such pretence in this question) had been a sufficient answer; then Tertullian had no sufficient argument against Hermogenes by calling for authority from Scripture: but he should have said, if it be not 'scriptum' or 'traditum' 'written' or 'delivered;' let Hermogenes fear the woe to the adders or detracters. But if we will suppose Tertullian spoke wisely and sufficiently, he must mean that the Scripture must be the rule in all questions, and no doctrine is to be taught that is not taught there. But to put this thing past dispute, Tertullian himself extends this rule to an universal comprehension; and by this instrument declares, that heretics are to be confuted, "Take from the heretics that which they have in common with the heathens; viz. their Ethnic learning, and let them dispute their questions by Scripture alone, and they can never stand." By which it is plain, that the Scripture is sufficient for all faith, because it is sufficient to convince all heresies and deviations from the faith; for which very reason the heretics also, as be[b] observes, attempted to prove their propositions from arguments from Scripture; for indeed there was no other way; because the articles of faith are to be proved by the writings of faith, that is, the Scripture; that was the rule: how contrary this is to the practice and doctrine of Rome at this day, we easily find by their doctors charging all heresies upon the Scriptures, as occasioned by them; and forbidding the people to read them for fear of corrupting their weak heads; nay, it hath been prohibited to certain bishops to read the Scriptures lest they become heretics. And this folly hath proceeded so far, that Erasmus[c] tells us of a Dominican, who being urged in a scholastical disputation with an argument from Scripture, cried out, it was a Lutheran way of disputation, and protested against the answering it: which, besides that it is more than a vehement suspicion that these men find the Scriptures not to look like a friend to their propositions; it is also a manifest procedure contrary to the wisdom, religion, and economy of the primitive church.

The next I note is Origen[d]: who when he propounded a

[b] De Præscript. [c] In Epist.

[d] Tract. 5. in Matt. versus finem. Vide etiam homil. 25. in Matt. homil. 7. in Ezek. homil. 4. in Jerem. Quos locos citat Bellarm. ubi supra, Sect. Secundò profert.

question concerning the angels guardians of little children, viz. "When the angels were appointed to them? at their birth, or at their baptism?" He adds, "You see, he that will discuss both of them warily, it is his part to produce Scripture for testimony, agreeing to one of them both." That was the way of the doctors then. And Scripture is so full and perfect to all intents and purposes, that for the confirmation of our discourses, Scripture is to be brought, saith Origen. "We[e] know Jesus Christ is God, and we seek to expound the words which are spoken, according to the dignity of the person. Wherefore it is necessary for us to call the Scriptures into testimony; for our meanings and enarrations, without these witnesess, have no belief." To these words Bellarmine answers most childishly: saying, that 'Origen speaks of the hardest questions, such as for the most part traditions are not about.' But it is evident that therefore Origen requires testimony of Scriptures, not because of the difficulty of things to be inquired; but because without such testimony they are not to be believed. For so are his very words; and therefore whether they be easy or hard, if they be not in Scripture, the questions will be indeterminable. That is the sense of Origen's argument. But more plainly yet[f]; "After these things, as his custom is, he will affirm (or prove) from the holy Scriptures what he had said; and also gives an example to the doctors of the church, that those things which they speak to the people, they should prove them, not as produced by their own sentences, but defended by Divine testimonies; for if he, so great, and such an apostle, believes not that the authority of his saying can be sufficient, unless he teaches that those things which he says are written in the law, and the prophets:—how much rather ought we who are the least, observe this thing, that we do not, when we teach, produce our own, but the sentences of the Holy Ghost?" Add to this what he says in another place[g]; "As our Saviour imposed silence upon the Sadducees by the word of his doctrine, and faithfully convinced

[e] Jesum Christum scimus Deum: quærimus verba quæ dicta sunt, juxta personæ exponere dignitatem. Quapropter necesse nobis est Scripturas sanctas in testimonium vocare: sensus quippe nostri, et enarrationes, sine his testibus, non habent fidem.

[f] In Epist. ad Rom. lib. iii. [g] Tract. 23. in Matt.

that false opinion which they thought to be truth; so also shall the followers of Christ do, by the examples of Scripture; by which according to sound doctrine, every voice of Pharaoh ought to be silent."

The next in order is St. Cyprian[h]; who, indeed, speaks for tradition: not meaning the 'modus tradendi,' but the 'doctrina tradita;' for it is such a tradition as is in Scripture; the doctrine delivered first by word of mouth, and then consigned in Scripture: "Let nothing be innovated but that is delivered: Whence is that tradition? whether descending from the Lord's, and from the evangelical authority, or coming from the commandments and epistles of the apostles? For that those things are to be done which are written, God witnesses, and propounds to Jesus Nave, saying, the book of this law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate in it day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all things which are written. Our Lord also sending his apostles, commands the nations to be baptized and taught, that they may observe all things whatsoever he hath commanded. If therefore it be either commanded in the Gospel, or in the epistles of the apostles, that they that come from any heresy, should not be baptized, but that hands should be imposed upon them unto repentance, then let even this holy tradition be observed." This doctrine and counsel of St. Cyprian, Bellarmine[i] says was one of the errors of St. Cyprian: but St. Austin commends it as the best way. And this procedure is also the same that the church in the descending ages always followed: of which there can in the world be no plainer testimony given, than in the words of St. Cyril of Jerusalem; and it was in the high questions of the holy and mysterious Trinity; concerning which, he advises them[k] to "retain that zeal in their minds, which by heads and summaries is expounded to you, but, if God grant, shall according to my strength be demonstrated to you by Scripture.—For[l] it behoveth us not to deliver, no not so much as

[h] Epist. ad Pompeium.

[i] Lib. iv. de Bapt. contr. Donatist. c. 3. et c. 5.

[k] Catech. 4. et 5. et 12. et 16. et 18. Illuminat. Μὴ ταῖς ἡμετέραις εὑρεσιολογίαις πρόσεχε, ἐὰν μὴ μάθῃς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν. Catech. 4 Illuminat.

[l] Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἀνεὺ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν· ἡ σωτηρία γὰρ αὐτὴ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ εὑρεσιολογίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποδείξεως τῶν θείων ἐστὶ γραφῶν.

the least thing of the holy mysteries of faith without the holy Scriptures. Neither give credit to me speaking, unless what is spoken be demonstrated by the holy Scriptures. For that is the security of our faith, not which is from our inventions, but from the demonstration of the holy Scriptures."

To the same purpose in the 'Dissuasive' was produced the testimony of St. Basil[m]; but the words which were not there set down at large, are these: "What is proper for the faithful man? That with a certain fulness of mind, he believes the force of those things to be true, which are spoken in the Scripture, and that he rejects nothing, and that he dares not to decree any thing that is new. For 'whatsoever is not of faith, is sin; but faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God:' without doubt, since whatsoever is without the Scripture, is not of faith, it is a sin[n]." These words are so plain, as no paraphrase is needful to illustrate them: to which may be added those fiercer words of the same saint[o]: "It is a manifest defection from the faith and a conviction of pride, either to reject any thing of what is written, or to introduce any thing that is not, since our Lord Jesus Christ hath said, 'My sheep hear my voice;' and a little before he said the same thing: 'A stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him; because they know not the voice of strangers.'" By which words St. Basil plainly declares, that the whole voice and words of Christ are set down in Scripture, and that all things else is the voice of strangers. And therefore "the apostle does most vehemently forbid, by an example taken from men, lest any thing of those which are in Scripture be taken away, or (which God forbid) any thing be added." To these words Bellarmine, and his followers[p] that write against the 'Dissuasive,' answer, that St. Basil speaks against adding to the Scripture things contrary to it, and things so strange from it,

[m] S. Basil. moral. Reg. 8. c. 12. edit. Paris. 1547. ex officinâ Carol. Cuillard.

[n] Vide etiam epist. 80. Stemus itaque arbitratui à Deo inspiratæ Scripturæ. — Quæstio erat an dicendum in Deo tres hypostases, et unam naturam; apud Bellar. de verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. c. 11. Sect. Alium locum.— Vide etiam Reg. 72. c. 1. cum titulo præfixo capiti.

[o] Homil. de vera fide. φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως, καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τι τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων, &c.

[p] Letter in the Preface 2.

as to be invented out of their own head: and that he also speaks of certain particular heresies.' Which endeavour to escape from the pressure of these words, is therefore very vain, because St. Basil was not then disputing against any particular heresies, as teaching any thing against Scripture, or of their own head; but he was about to describe the whole Christian faith: and he that may do this with faithfulness and simplicity, and without reproof, he declares he will do it from the holy Scriptures; 'for it is infidelity and pride to do otherwise;' and therefore what is not in the Scriptures, if it be added to the faith, it is contrary to it, as contrary as 'unfaithfulness or infidelity:' and whatsoever is not delivered by the Spirit of God, is an invention of man, if offered as a part of the Christian faith. And, therefore, Bellarmine and his followers make here a distinction where there is no difference. St. Basil here declared, that "as formerly he had it always fixed in his mind to fly every voice, and every sentence which is a stranger to the doctrine of the Lord, so now also at this time[q]," viz. when he was to set down the whole Christian faith. Neither can there be hence any escaping by saying[r], that "nothing indeed is to be added to the Scriptures; but yet to the faith something is to be reckoned, which is not in Scripture." For although the church of Rome does that also, putting more into the canon than was among the Jews acknowledged, or by the primitive church of Christians; yet besides this, St. Basil having said[s], "Whatsoever is not in the Scriptures, is not of faith, and therefore it is a sin;" he says also, by certain consequence, that to add to the Scriptures, is all one as to add to the faith. And therefore he exhorts even the novices to study the Scriptures: for to his ninety-fifth question, "Whether it be fit for novices presently to learn the things of the Scripture?" he answers, "It is right, and it is necessary, that those things which appertain to use, every one should learn from the Scriptures, both for the replenishing of their mind with piety, as also that they may not be accustomed to human traditions[t]." By which words he not only declares,

[q] Ibidem in sequentibus. [r] Truth will out. [s] Ubi supra.

[t] In Regul. Brev. Reg. 95. Εἴς τε πληροφορίαν τῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προσεθισθῆναι ἀνθρωπίναις παραδόσεσιν.

that by the Scriptures our minds are abundantly filled with piety; but that human traditions (by which he means every thing that is not contained in Scripture) are not to be received; but ought to be, and are best of all, banished from our minds by entertaining of Scripture. To the same purpose are his words in his ethics, "Whatsoever we say or do ought to be confirmed by the testimony of Divinity inspired by Scriptures, both for the full persuasion of the good, and the confusion or damnation of evil things[u]." There is your rule; that is the ground of all true faith.

And, therefore, St. Athanasius[x], speaking concerning the Nicene council, made no scruple that the question was sufficiently determined concerning the proper divinity of the Son of God, because it was determined, and the faith was expounded according to the Scriptures; and affirms, that "the faith so determined was sufficient for the reproof of all impiety" (meaning in the article of Christ's divinity), "and for the establishment of the orthodox faith in Christ[y]." Nay, he affirms that "the catholic Christians will neither speak, nor endure to hear any thing in religion that is a stranger to Scripture; it being an evil heart of immodesty to speak those things which are not written[z]." Which words I the rather remark, because this article of the consubstantiality of Christ with the Father, is brought as an instance (by the Romanists) of the necessity of tradition, to make up the insufficiency of Scripture. But not in this only, but for the preaching of the truth indefinitely, that is, the whole truth of the gospel, he affirms the Scriptures to be sufficient[a]. For writing to Macarius, a priest of Alexandria, he tells him that the knowledge of true and Divine religion and piety, does not much need the ministry of man; and that he might abundantly draw this forth from the Divine books and letters: for "truly the holy and divinely-inspired Scriptures are sufficient for the preaching of the truth;" "ad omnem instructionem veritatis;" so the Latin translation; "for the whole instruction of truth;" or "the instruction of all truth." — But because Macarius desired rather to hear others teach him

[u] Moral. Regul. 26.
[x] Epist. ad Epictetum, Corinthiorum Episc.
[y] De Incarnat.
[z] Idem Athanas. in Exhort. ad Monachos.
[a] Moral. contra Gentiles, in initio.

this doctrine and true religion, than himself to draw it from Scripture. St. Athanasius tells him, "that there are many written monuments of the holy fathers, and our masters, which, if men will diligently read over, he shall learn the interpretation of Scriptures, and obtain that notion of truth which he desires[b]." Which is perfectly the same advice which the church of England commands her sons; that they shall teach nothing but what the fathers and doctors of the church draw forth from Scriptures.

The same principal doctrine in the whole is taught frequently by St. Chrysostom[c], who "compares the Scriptures to a door, which is shut to hinder the heretics from entering in, and introduce us to God, and to the knowledge of God." This surely is sufficient; if it does this, it does all that we need; and if it does not, St. Chrysostom was greatly deceived, and so are we, and so were all the church of God in all the first ages. But he is constant in the same affirmative[d]: "If there be need to learn, or to be ignorant, thence we shall learn it; if to confute or argue that which is false, thence we shall draw it: if to be corrected or chastised to exhortation; if any thing be wanting for our comfort, and that we ought to have it, nevertheless from thence (from the Scriptures) we learn it. 'That the man be perfect:' therefore without it he cannot be perfected. Instead of me (he saith) thou hast the Scriptures; if thou desirest to learn any thing, hence thou mayest. But if he writes these things to Timothy, who was filled with the Holy Spirit, how much more must we think these things spoken to us?" To the same purpose he discourses largely in his eighth homily on the epistle to the Hebrews, which is here too long to transcribe. "Let no man look for another master. Thou hast the oracles of God; no man teaches thee like to them.—Because, ever since heresy did infest those churches, there can be no proof of true Christianity, nor any other refuge for Christians, who would know the truth of faith, but that of the divine Scripture: but now by no means is it known by them, who would know which is the true church of Christ, but only by the

[b] Colonia ex officin. Melchioris Novesiani. 1548.
[c] Homil. 58. in Johan.
[d] Homil. 9. in 2 Timoth. — Idem in Psal. xcv. versus finem.

Scriptures[e]." Bellarmine, very learnedly, says[f], that these words were put into this book by the Arians; but because he offers at no pretence of reason for any such interpolation, and it being without cause to suspect it, though the author of it had been an Arian: because the Arians were never noted to differ from the church in the point of the Scripture's sufficiency; I look upon this as a pitiful shift of a man that resolved to say any thing rather than confess his error. And at last he concludes with many words to the same purpose. "Our Lord, therefore, knowing what confusion of things would be in the last days, therefore commands that Christians, who, in Christianity, would receive the firmness of true faith, should fly to nothing but to the Scriptures; otherwise, if they regard other things, they will be scandalized and perish, not understanding which is the true church, and by this shall fall into the abomination of desolation, which stands in the holy places of the church."—The sum is this, delivered by the same author[g], "Whatsoever is sought for unto salvation, it is now filled full in the Scriptures. Therefore, there is in this feast, nothing less than what is necessary to the salvation of mankind." Sixtus Senensis,—though he greatly approves this book, and brings arguments to prove it to be St. Chrysostom's, and alleges from others, that it hath been for many ages approved by the commandment of the church, which, among the divine laws, reads some of these homilies as of St. Chrysostom; and that it is cited in the ordinary and authentic glosses, in the catenas upon the gospels, in the decrees of the popes, and in the theological sums of great divines;—yet he would have it purged from these words here quoted; as also from many others. But when they cannot show by any probable argument that any heretics have interpolated these words; and that these are so agreeing to other words of St. Chrysostom, spoken in his unquestioned works; he shows himself and his party greatly pinched, and for no other reason rejects the words, but because they make against him; which is a plain self-con-

[e] Homil. 9. in Coloss. et in 2 Thess. ii.—Homil. 49. in Matt. xxiii. oper. imperfect.

[f] De verbo Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. sect. Sextò profert.

[g] Idem. homil. 41. in Matt.

viction and self-condemnation. Theophilus Alexandrinus is already [h] quoted in these words, and they are indeed very severe; "It is the part of a devilish spirit to think any thing Divine without the authority of the holy Scriptures." Here E. W. and A. L. say, the Dissuasive left out some words of Theophilus. It is true; but so did a good friend of theirs before me; for they are just so quoted by Bellarmine [i], who in all reason would have put them in, if they had made way for any answer to the other words. The words are these, as they lie entirely: "Truly I cannot know with what temerity Origen, speaking so many things, and following his own error, not the authority of Scriptures, does dare to publish such things which will be hurtful."—And a little after adds [k], "Sed ignorans quod dæmoniaci spiritûs esset instinctus, sophismata humanarum mentium sequi, et aliquid extra Scripturarum autoritatem putare Divinum." "Sophisms of his own mind, and things that are not in Scriptures," are explicative one of another: and if he had not meant it merely diabolical to induce any thing without the authority of Scripture, he ought to have added the other part of the rule, and have called it devilish, to add any thing without Scripture or tradition: which, because he did not, we suppose he had no cause to do; and then, whatsoever is not in Scripture, Theophilus calls the sophism of human minds. He spake it indefinitely and universally; it is true, it is instanced in a particular against Origen [l], but upon that occasion he gives a general rule. And, therefore, it is a weak subterfuge of Bellarmine, to say, that 'Theophilus only speaks concerning certain apocryphal books, which some would esteem Divine:' but, by the way I know not how well Bellarmine will agree with my adversaries; for one or two of them say [m], Theophilus spake against Origen, for broaching fopperies of his own; and particularly, that Christ's flesh was consubstantial with the Godhead: and if they say true, then Bellarmine, in his want, invented an answer of his own, without any ground of truth.

[h] Dissuasive in the Preface.
[i] Lib. iv. de Verbo Dei, cap. 11. sect. Profert nonò Theophilum.
[k] In censuris super Matth. expositoribus.
[l] Paschal. 11. vide etiam Paschal. 3. [m] A. L. and E. W. page 4.

But all agree in this, that these words were spoken in these cases only: and, it is foolish (says Bellarmine[n]) to wrest that which is spoken of one thing, to another. But I desire that it may be observed, that to the testimony of Tertullian, it is answered, 'He speaks but of one particular,'—To that of St. Basil, it is answered, 'he spake but against a few particular heresies.'—And to one of the testimonies of St. Athanasius, it is answered, 'He spake but of one particular, viz., the heresy of Samosatenus; and to this of Theophilus Alexandrinus it is just so answered; he spake, likewise 'but of this particular,' viz., that against Origen: and to that of St. Jerome[o], in Matth. xxiii., he only spake of a 'particular opinion,' pretended out of some apocryphal book; and to another of St. Austin[p], it is spoken 'but of a particular matter,'—the case of widowhood. But if Hermogenes, and Origen, and Samosatenus, and the heretics St. Basil speaks of, and they in St. Jerome, be all to be confuted by Scripture, and by nothing else; nay, are, therefore, rejected, because they are not in Scripture; if all these fathers confute all these heresies by a negative argument from Scripture, then the rule which they establish, must be more than particular. It is fitted to all, as well as to any: for all particulars make a general. This way they may answer five hundred testimonies; if five hundred authors should, upon so many several occasions, speak general words. But in the world no answer could be weaker, and no allusion more trifling and less plausible could have been invented. However, these, and other concurrent testimonies, will put this question beyond such captious answers.

St. Jerome was so severe in this article, that disputing[q] what Zachary it was, who was slain between the porch and the altar, whether it was the last but one of the small prophets, or the father of the Baptist; he would admit neither,

[n] Lib. iv. de Verb. Dei, cap. 11.

[o] Cited in the next page.

[p] Lib. de Bono Viduitatis, cap. 1.

[q] St. Jerome, in xxiii. Matt. 'Hoc, quia de Scripturis non habet autoritatem, eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur.'—Et in epist. ad Titum. 'Sine autoritate Scripturarum garrulitas non habet fidem, nisi viderentur perversam doctrinam etiam Divinis testimoniis roborare.' Sic citantur verba apud Bellarm. qui, sequutus Kemnitium in objectionibus, responsionem de bene esse paravit. Non curavit, tamen, nec metuit ne non recte citarentur verba,

because it was not in the Scriptures, in these words, "This, because it hath not authority from Scripture, is with the same easiness despised as it is approved."—And "they that prattle without the authority of Scriptures, have no faith, or trust;" that is, none would believe them, "unless they did seem to strengthen their perverse doctrine with Divine testimonies." But most pertinent and material to the whole inquiry are these words[r]; "Those things which they make and find, as it were, by apostolical tradition, without the authority and testimonies of Scripture, the word of God smites." By which words it appears, that in St. Jerome's time it was usual to pretend traditions apostolical: and yet that all which was then, so early, called so, was not so; and, therefore, all pretences still as they are later, are the worse: and that the way to try those pretences, was the authority and testimony of Scriptures; without which testimony they were to be rejected, and God would punish them. And, disputing against Helvidius, in defence of the perpetual virginity of the blessed Virgin: "But as we deny not those things which are written; so, we refuse those things which are not written: we believe our Lord to be born of a virgin, because we read it. We believe not Mary was married after her delivery, because we read it not." And, therefore, this very point the fathers endeavour to prove by Scripture[s]; particularly, St. Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, and St. Austin; though St. Basil believed it not to be a point of faith; and when he offered to prove it by a tradition, concerning the slaying of Zachary upon that account, St. Jerome rejects the tradition as trifling, as before I have cited him. And, therefore, St. John Damascen[t] going upon the same principle, says, "We look for nothing beyond these things, which are delivered by the law and the prophets, the apostles and evangelists."

[r] In c. 1. Aggæi. Sed et alia, quæ absque autoritate et testimoniis Scripturarum, quasi traditione apostolicâ, sponte reperiunt atque contingunt, percutit gladius Dei.

[s] Ambr. tom. 2. Ep. 9. Epiphan. hæres. 78. August. de hæres. 84. St. Basil. de human. gen. Christi, Homil. 25.

[t] Lib. i. de Orthod. Fide, cap. 1. πάντα τὰ παραδίδόμενα ἡμῖν διά τε νόμου, καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν δεχόμεθα καὶ γινώσκομεν, καὶ σέβομεν, οὐδὲν περαιτέρω τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες.

And after all this, St. Austin[u], who is not the least amongst the greatest doctors of the church, is very clear in this particular: "If any one, concerning Christ, or his church, or concerning any other thing which belongs to faith, or our life; I will not say, if we, but (what St. Paul hath added) if an angel from heaven shall preach unto you, 'præter quam in Scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis,' 'beside what ye have received in the legal and evangelical Scriptures,' let him be accursed." The words Bellarmine quotes, and for an answer to them, says, that 'præter' must signify 'contra;' 'besides,' that is, 'against:' and the same is made use of by Hart, the jesuit, in his Conference, and by the Louvain doctors. But if this answer may serve; "Non habebis Deos alienos præter me," may signify "contra me;" and then a man may, for all this commandment, say, there are two gods, so one be not contrary to the other; and the apostle may glory in any thing else in that sense, in which he glories in the cross of Christ[x], so that thing be not contrary to Christ's cross. But St. Austin was a better grammarian than to speak so improperly. 'Præter' and 'præterquam' are all one; as I am covetous of nothing "præter laudem, vel præterquam laudis: nulli places præterquam mihi; vel, præter me." And, indeed, 'præterquam, eandem aut prope parem vim obtinet, quam nisi," said Laurentius Valla[y]: but to make 'præterquam' to signify 'contra quam,' is a violence to be allowed by no master of the Latin tongue; which, all the world knows, St. Austin was. And if we inquire what signification it hath in law, we find it signifies variously indeed, but never to any such purpose[z]. When we speak of things whose nature is wholly separate, then it signifies inclusively: as, I give all my vines, 'præter domum,' 'besides my house;' there the house is supposed also to be given. But if we speak of things which are subordinate and included in the general, then 'præter' signifies exclusively: as, I give unto thee all my books 'præter Augustinum de Civitate Dei,' 'besides or except St. Austin of the City of God:' there St. Austin's book is not given: and the reason of this is, because the last words in this case

[u] Cont. Lit. Petiliani. lib. iii. c. 6.
[x] Absit mihi gloriari præterquam in cruce Jesu Christi.
[y] Elegant. lib. iii. c. 54. [z] In Vocabular. utriusque Juris.

would operate nothing, unless they were exclusive; and if in the first they were exclusive, they were not sense. But that 'præterquam' should mean only what is 'contrary,' is a novelty taken up without reason, but not without great need. But, however, that St. Austin did not mean only to reprove them that introduced into faith and manners, such things which were against Scripture; but such which were besides it, and whatsoever was not in it, is plain by an established doctrine of his [a], affirming that "all things which appertain to life and doctrine, are found in those things which are plainly set down in the Scriptures." And if this be true, as St. Austin supposed it to be, then whoever adds to this any thing of faith and manners, though it be not contrary, yet if it be not here, ought to be an anathema, because of his own he adds to that rule of faith and manners, which God, who only could do it, hath made. To this Bellarmine answers [b], that 'St. Austin speaks only of the creed and the ten commandments: such things which are simply necessary to all.' He might have added, that he speaks of the Lord's prayer too, and all the other precepts of the Gospel, and particularly the eight beatitudes, and the sacraments. And what of the infallibility of the Roman church? Is the belief of that necessary to all? But that is neither in the creed nor the ten commandments. And what of the five precepts of the church? are they plainly in the Scripture? And after all this, and much more, if all that belongs to faith and good life be in the plain places of Scripture, then there is enough to make us "wise unto salvation." And he is a very wise and learned man that is so. For as by 'faith,' St. Austin understands the whole Christian faith; so, by 'mores vivendi,' he understands hope and charity, as himself, in the very place, expresses himself. And beyond faith, hope, and charity, and all things that integrate them, what a Christian need to know, I have not learned: but if he would learn more yet, there are, in places less plain, things enough to make us learned unto curiosity. Briefly, by St. Austin's doctrine, the

[a] S. August. vocat Scripturas sacras Divinam stateram. lib. ii. contr. Donat. c. 14. Lib. ii. de Doctr. Christ. c. 9. vide eundem lib. i. c. ult. de Consensu Evangelistarum. "Quicquid Servator de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis, tanquam suis manibus, imperavit."

[b] De Verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. c. 11.

Scripture hath enough for every one, and in all cases of necessary religion, and much more than what is necessary; nay, there is nothing besides it that can come into our rule. "The Scripture is the consummation or utmost bounded rule of our doctrine, that we may not dare to be wiser than we ought[c]." And that not only in the question of widowhood, but "in all questions which belong unto life and manners of living;" as himself, in the same place, declares. And it is not only for laics and vulgar persons, but for all men; and not only for what is merely necessary, but to make us wise, to make us perfect, saith the apostle[d]. "And how can this man say, that the Scriptures make a man perfect in justice? And he that is perfect in justice, needs no more revelation:"—which words are well enlarged by St. Cyril: "The Divine Scripture is sufficient to make them who are educated in it, wise and most approved, and having a most sufficient understanding: and to this we need not any foreign teachers[e]." But lastly, if in the plain words of Scripture be contained all that is simply necessary to all, then it is clear, by Bellarmine's confession, that St. Austin affirmed, that the plain places of Scripture are sufficient to all laics and all idiots, or private persons: and then, as it is very ill done to keep them from the knowledge and use of the Scriptures, which contain all their duty, both of faith and good life, so it is very unnecessary to trouble them with any thing else, there being in the world no such treasure and repository of faith and manners, and that so plain, that it was intended for all men, and for all such men is sufficient. "Read the holy Scriptures, wherein you shall find some things to be holden, and some to be avoided[f]." This was spoken to the monks and brethren in the desert, and to them that were to be guides of others, and the pastors of the reasonable flock; and in that whole sermon he enumerates the admirable advantages, fulness, and perfection of the holy Scriptures, out of which themselves are to be taught, and by the fulness of which they are to teach others in all things. I shall not be trouble-

[c] Lib. de Bono Vidnitat. c. 1.

[d] 2 Tim. iii. Salmeron in hunc locum, tom. xv. p. 607. Vide plura apud eundem, p. 606.

[e] Cyril. Alex. lib. vii. contr. Julian.

[f] S. August. ser. 38. ad fratres in eremo.

some by adding those many clear testimonies from other of the fathers. But I cannot omit that of Anastasius of Antioch: "It is manifest, that these things are not to be inquired into, which the Scripture hath passed over in silence. For the Holy Spirit hath dispensed and administered to us all things which conduce to our profit[g]." "If the Scriptures be silent, who will speak?" said St. Prosper[h].—"What things we are ignorant of, from them we learn," said Theodoret.[i]—"And there is nothing which the Scriptures deny to dissolve," said Theophylact[k].—And the former of these brings in the Christian saying to Eranistes[l], "Tell not me of your logisms and syllogisms; I rely upon Scripture only."—But Rupertus Tuitiensis's[m] words are a fit conclusion to this heap of testimonies: "Whatsoever is of the word of God, whatsoever ought to be known and preached of the incarnation, of the true Divinity and humanity of the Son of God, is so contained in the two Testaments, that besides these, there is nothing ought to be declared or believed. The whole celestial oracle is comprehended in these; which we ought so firmly to know, that besides these, it is not lawful to hear either man or angel." And all these are nothing else, but a full subscription to, and an excellent commentary upon, those words of St. Paul, "Let no man pretend to be wise above what is written."

By the concourse of these testimonies of so many learned, orthodox, and ancient fathers, we are abundantly confirmed in that rule and principle upon which the whole protestant and Christian religion is established. From hence we learn all things, and by these we prove all things, and by these we confute heresies, and prove every article of our faith; according to this we live, and on these we ground our hope; and whatsoever is not in these, we reject from our canon. And, indeed, that the canonical Scriptures should be our only and entire rule, we are sufficiently convinced by the title which the catholic church gives, and always hath given to the holy Scriptures; for it is Κανών; the 'rule' of Christians for their whole religion: the word itself ends this inquiry;

[g] Anagogicæ Contempt. in Hexameron, lib. viii.
[h] De Vocat. Gentium in tom. ii. Operum S. Ambros. lib. ii. c. 3.
[i] In tom. ii. 3. in illud. Ad docendum. [k] Ibidem.
[l] Dial. 1. [m] Comment. in lib. Regum, lib. iii. c. 12.

for it cannot be a canon, if any thing be put to it or taken from it, said St. Basil[n], St. Chrysostom[o], and Varinus[p].

I hope I have competently proved the tradition I undertook; and by it, that the holy Scriptures contain all things that are necessary to salvation. The sum is this, If tradition be not regardable, then the Scriptures alone are; but if it be regarded, then here is a full tradition, that the Scriptures are a perfect rule; for that the Scriptures are the word of God, and contain in them all the word of God (in which we are concerned), is delivered by a full consent of all these, and many other fathers, and no one father denies it; which consent, therefore, is so great, that if it may not prevail, the topic of tradition will be of no use at all to them, who would fain adopt it into a part of the canon. But this I shall consider more particularly.

Only one thing more I am to add, concerning the interpretation and finding out the sense and meaning of the Scriptures. For though the Scriptures be allowed to be a sufficient repository of all that is necessary to salvation, yet we may mistake our way, if we have not some infallible judge of their sense.

To him, therefore, that shall ask, how we shall interpret and understand the Scriptures, I shall give that answer which I have learned from those fathers, whose testimony I have alleged, to prove the fulness and sufficiency of Scripture. For if they were never so full, yet if it be 'fons signatus,' and the waters of salvation do not issue forth, to refresh the souls of the weary, full they may be in themselves, but they are not sufficient for us, nor for the work of God, in the salvation of man. But that it may appear that the Scriptures are indeed written by the hand of God, and, therefore, no way deficient from the end of their design, God hath made them plain and easy to all people that are willing and obedient.

So St. Cyril[q]: "Nihil in Scripturis difficile est iis qui in

[n] Contr. Encum. lib. i.

[o] Ὁ κανὼν οὔτε πρόσθεσιν, οὔτε ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ κανὼν εἶναι ἀπόλλυσι.—*S. Chrysost.* Hom. 12. In Philip. iii. Idem dixit Theophyl.

[p] Κανών ἐστι μέρος ἀδιάψευστον, πᾶσαν πρόσθεσιν καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν οὐδαμῶς ἐπιδεχόμενον. —*Varinus.*

[q] Contr. Julian. lib. ix.

illis versantur ut decet." It is our own fault, our prejudice, our foolish expectations, our carnal fancies, our interests and partialities, make the Scriptures difficult. The apostles did not, would not, could not, understand their Master and Lord, when he told them of his being put to death; they looked for some other thing: and by that measure they would understand what was spoken, and by nothing else. "But to them that are conversant in Scriptures as they ought, nothing is difficult;" so St. Cyril[r]: that is, nothing that is necessary for them to know; nothing that is necessary to make us wise unto salvation, which is the great end of man. To this purpose are the words of St. Austin: "Inclinavit Deus Scripturas ad infantium et lactentium capacitatem:" "God hath made the Scriptures to stoop to the capacity of babes and sucklings," that so out of their mouths he may perfect praise. And St. Chrysostom says[s], that the Scriptures are "faciles ad intelligendum, et prorsus expositæ," "they are expounded and easy to be understood," to the servant and the countryman, to the widow and the boy, and to him that is very unskilful.—"Omnia clara sunt et plana in Divinis literis:" "all things are clear and plain in the Divine writings;" 'all things,' that is, saith St. Chrysostom, "Omnia necessaria aperta sunt et manifesta;" "all that is necessary, is open and manifest[t]."

2. The fathers say, that in such things (viz. in which our salvation is concerned) the Scriptures need no interpreter; but a man may find them out himself, by himself. "Apostoli verò et prophetæ omnia contrà fecerunt manifesta, claraque; quæ prodiderunt, exposuerunt nobis, veluti communes orbis doctores, ut per se quisque discere possit ea, quæ dicuntur, ex solâ lectione;" so St. Chrysostom[u]: and, therefore, saith he, "What need is there of a preacher? All things are clear and plain out of the Divine Scriptures. But ye seek for preachers, because you are nice and delicate, and love to have your ears pleased."—To the same purpose are those words of St. Cyril of Alexandria[x]. "The Divine Scripture is sufficient to make them who are educated in it, wise and most approved, and having a most sufficient understanding.

[r] In Psal. viii. [s] Homil. prima in Matt. [t] Homil. 3. in 2 Thess.
[u] Homil. 3. de Lazaro, et homil. 3. in 2 Thess. [x] Contr. Julian. lib. vii.

And to this we need not any foreign teachers." There is no question but there are many places in the Divine Scriptures, mysterious, intricate, and secret; but these are for the learned, not the ignorant; for the curious and inquisitive, not for the busied, and employed, and simple: they are not the repositories of salvation; but instances of labour, and occasions of humility, and arguments of forbearance and mutual toleration, and an endearment of reverence and adoration. But all that by which God brings us to himself, is plain and easy. In St. Paul's epistles, St. Peter said, there were some things hard to be understood; but they were but 'quædam,' 'some things;' there are enough besides which are very plain and easy, and sufficient for the instruction and the perfecting the man of God. St. Peter is, indeed, supposed to say, that in St. Paul's epistles 'some things were hard;' yet if we observe it rightly, he does not relate to St. Paul's writings, and way of expressing himself, but ἐν οἷς "in which," relates to the mysterious matters contained in St. Paul's epistles, of which St. Peter also there treats[y]: the mysteries were so deep and sublime, so far removed from sense and human experience, that it is very hard for us, poor ignorants, to understand them without difficulty, and constancy of labour and observation. But then, when such mysterious points occur, let us be wary and wise, not hasty and decretory, but fearful and humble, modest and inquisitive. St. Paul expressed those deep mysteries of the coming of Christ to judgment, and the conflagration of the world, as plainly as the things would easily bear; and, therefore, the difficulty was, not in the style, but in the subject matter; nor there, indeed, as they are in themselves, so much as by the ignorance and instability, or unsettledness, of foolish people: and although when things are easy there needs no interpreter, but the very reading and observing; and humility and diligence, simplicity and holiness, are the best expositors in the world; yet when any such difficulty does occur, we have a guide sufficient to carry us as far as we need or ought to go. Therefore,

3. The way of the ancient and primitive church was to expound the Scriptures by the Scriptures. So St. Clemens

[y] 2 Pet. iii. 16.

of Alexandria[z]: "Perfectly demonstrating out of the Scriptures themselves concerning themselves: βεβαιοῦν ἕκαστον τῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν ὁμοίων γραφῶν. "Confirming every thing from those things which are demonstrated from the Scriptures, out of those and the like Scriptures." To the same purpose are the words of St. Athanasius: "The knowledge of true and Divine religion and piety does not much need the ministry of man, and he might abundantly draw this forth from the Divine books and letters[a]." St. Paul's way of teaching us to expound Scripture is, that he that prophesies, should do it, κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, 'according to the analogy of faith;' the fundamental proportions of faith are the measures by which we are to exact the sense and meaning of points more difficult and less necessary. This way St. Clement[b] urges in other expressions. "Truth is not found in the translation of significations, for so they might overthrow all true doctrine: ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ διασκέψασθαι, τί τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τῷ παντοκράτορι Θεῷ τελείως οἰκεῖον τε καὶ πρέπον· but in this, that every one consider what is perfectly agreeable to our Lord the almighty God, and what is decent or fit to be said of him."—If we follow this way close, our interpretations of Scripture can never be impious, and can never lead into dangerous error.

4. In pursuance of this, the ancient fathers took this way, and taught us to do so too; to expound difficult places by the plain. So St. Austin[c]: "Magnificè et salubriter Spiritus Sanctus," &c. "The Holy Spirit hath magnificently and wholesomely qualified the Holy Scriptures, that in the more open (or plainer) places, provision is made for our hunger, (viz. for our need) and in the obscure there is nothing tedious (or loathsome): nihil enim ferè de illis obscuritatibus eruit, quod non planissimè dictum alibi reperiatur. For there is scarce any thing drawn from those obscure places, but the same, in other places, may be found spoken most plainly." Bellarmine[d] observes, that St. Austin uses the word 'ferè,' 'almost;' meaning, that though, by plainer places, most of the obscure places may be cleared; yet not all.' And truly it is very probable, that St. Austin did mean so. But then

[z] Stromat. lib. vii. p. 757, et 758.
[a] Contr. Gentil. in Initio.
[b] Ubi suprà, p. 758.
[c] De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. c. 6.
[d] De Verbo Dei, lib. iii. c. 2. sect. Respondeo imprimis.

if there be any obscure places, that cannot be so enlightened, what is to be done with them? St. Austin says[e], that "in such places, let every one abound in his own sense, and expound as well as he can:" "Quæ obscurè vel ambiguè, vel figuratè dicta sunt, quisque sicut voluerit, interpretetur secundum sensum suum." But yet still he calls us to the rule of plain places; "Talia autem rectè intelligi exponique non possunt, nisi priùs ea quæ apertissimè dicta sunt, firma fide teneantur," the plain places of Scripture are the way of expounding the more obscure, and there is no other, viz. so apt, and certain.

And after all this; I deny not but there are many other external helps. God hath set bishops and priests, preachers and guides of our souls, over us; and they are appointed to teach others as far as they can, and it is to be supposed they can do it best; but then the way for them to find out the meaning of obscure places is that which I have now described out of the fathers, and by the use of that means they will be best enabled to teach others.

If any man can find a better way than the fathers have taught us, he will very much oblige the world by declaring it; and giving a solid experiment that he can do what he undertakes. But because no man, and no company of men, have yet expounded all hard places with certainty and without error, it is an intolerable vanity to pretend to a power of doing that, which no charity hath ever obliged them to do for the good of the church, and the glory of God, and the rest of inquiring souls.

I end this tedious discourse with the words of St. Austin[f], "Nolo humanis documentis, sed Divinis oraculis ecclesiam demonstrari." If you inquire where, or which is the church; from human teachings you can never find her: "She is only demonstrated in the Divine oracles."—"Therefore if any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God[g]."

[e] Lib. de Unit. Eccles. c. 16. [f] De Unit. Eccles. c. 3. [g] 1 Pet. iv. 11.

SECTION III.

Of Traditions.

TRADITION is any way of delivering a thing, or word to another; and so every doctrine of Christianity is by tradition. "I have delivered unto you," saith St. Paul[a], "that Christ died for our sins." Παράδοσις is the same[b] with δόγμα, and παραδιδόναι is the same with διδάσκειν, say the grammarians; and the παραδοθεῖσα πίστις in St. Jude, "the faith delivered," is the same which St. Paul explicates by saying παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε, the "traditions," that is, "the doctrines ye were taught."—And St. Irenæus[c] calls it a tradition apostolical that "Christ took the cup," and said "it was his blood;" and "to believe in one God, and in Christ who was born of a virgin, was the old tradition;" that is, the thing delivered, and not at first written; which the barbarians kept diligently. But tradition signified either preaching or writing, as it happened. When it signified preaching, it was only the first way of communicating the religion of Jesus Christ: and until the Scriptures were written, and consigned by the full testimony of the apostles, and apostolical churches respectively; they, in the questions of religion, usually appealed to the tradition, or the constant retention of such a doctrine in those churches where the apostles first preached, and by the succession of bishops in those churches, who, without variety or change, had still remembered and kept the same doctrine, which at first was delivered by the apostles: so Irenæus[d], "If the apostles had not left the Scriptures to us, must not we (*viz. in this case*) have followed the order of tradition which they delivered to them, to whom they intrusted the church; to which ordination many nations of barbarians do assent?" And that which was true then, is also true now; for, if the apostles had never written at all, we must have followed tradition; unless God had 'provided for us some better thing.' But

[a] 1 Thes. ii. 15.

[b] Sic S. Basilius lib. iii. contr. Eunomium τοῦτο σαφῶς μάθεται τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος.

[c] Lib. iii. c. 4.

[d] Ibid.

it is observable that Irenæus says, that 'this way is only in the destitution of Scripture.' But since God hath supplied not only the principal churches with the Scriptures, but even all the nations which the Greeks and Romans call barbarous; now to run to tradition, is to make use of a staff or wooden leg, when we have a good leg of our own. The traditions at the first publication of Scriptures were clear, evident, recent, remembered, talked of by all Christians, in all their meetings, public and private; and the mistaking of them by those who carefully endeavoured to remember them, was not easy; and, if there had been a mistake, there was an apostle living, or one of their immediate disciples, to set all things right. And, therefore, until the apostles were all dead, there was no dispute considerable amongst Christians, but what was instantly determined, or suppressed[e]; and the heresies that were, did creep and sting clancularly, but made no great show. But when the apostles were all dead; then that apostasy foretold[f], began to appear; and heresies, of which the church was warned, began to arise. But it is greatly to be remarked; there was then no heresy that pretended any foundation from Scripture; but from tradition many: for it was accounted so glorious a thing to have been taught by an apostle, that even good men were willing to believe any thing which their scholars pretended to have heard their masters preach; and too many were forward to say, they heard them teach what they never taught; and the pretence was very easy to be made by the contemporaries or immediate descendants after the apostles; and now that they were dead, it was so difficult to confute them, that the heretics found it an easy game to play, to say they heard it delivered by an apostle. Many did so, and some were at first believed, and yet were afterwards discovered; some were cried down at first, and some expired of themselves, and some were violently thrust away. But how many of those who did descend and pass on to custom, were of a true and apostolical original, and how many were not so, it will be impossible to find now; only, because we are sure there was some false dealing in this matter, and we

[e] Hegesip. apud Eccles. lib. xxxviii. c. 32. Græc. 26. Latin.

[f] Acts, xx. 29, 30. 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c. 2 Tim. iii. 10, &c. and iv. 3. 2 Thes. ii. 3. 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c. 1 Joh. ii. 18, 19. Jude, iv. 5, &c.

know there might be much more than we have discovered, we have no reason to rely upon any tradition for any part of our faith; any more than we could do upon Scripture, if one book or chapter of it should be detected to be imposture. But there were two cases, in which tradition was then used: the one was, when the Scriptures had not been written, or communicated, as among divers nations of the barbarians. The other was, when they disputed with persons who received not all the Scriptures; as did the Carpocratians, of whom Irenæus[g] speaks. In these cases tradition was urged, that because they did not agree about the authority of one instrument, they should be admitted to trial upon the other. For as Antonius Marinarius said truly and wisely, 'The fathers served themselves of this topic only in case of necessity, never thinking to make use of it in competition against holy Scripture.'

But then it is to be observed, that in both these cases the use of tradition is not at all pertinent to the question now in hand; for, first, the question was not then, as now it is, between persons who equally account of Scriptures as the Word of God; and to whom the Scriptures have been from many generations consigned. For they that had received Scriptures at the first, relied upon them; they that had not, were to use tradition, and the topic of succession, to prove their doctrine to have come from the apostles: that is, they were fain to call witnesses, when they could not produce a will in writing. But secondly, in other cases the old heretics had the same question as we have now. For besides the Scripture, they said[h] that "Jesus in mystery spake to his disciples and apostles some things in secret and apart, because they were worthy." And so Christ said, "I have many things to say, but ye cannot bear them now." For this place of "Scripture was to this purpose urged by the most foolish heretics:" just thus do the doctors of the church of Rome at this day. So Bellarmine[i]; "They preached not to the people all things, but those which were necessary to them, or profitable, but other things they delivered apart to the more perfect." Here then is the popish

[g] Lib. i. c. 1, et c. 24.
[h] St. Irenæus, lib. i. c. 24. S. August. tract. 97. in Johan.
[i] De verb. Dei non script. lib. iv. c. 11. Sect. Hic notatis.

ground of their traditions; they cannot deny but necessary and profitable things were delivered in public, and to all: but some secret things were reserved for the secret ones. For the Scriptures are as the credential letters to an ambassador; but traditions are as the private instructions. This was the pretence of the old heretics, and is of the modern papists: who while they say[k] the same thing, pretend for it also the same authority, saying, that 'Traditions also are to be received, because they are recommended in Scripture.' Of this I shall hereafter give account: in the mean time,

Concerning this, I remember that a great man[l] of the Roman party falls foul upon Castalio, for saying, 'the apostle had some more secret doctrine which he did not commit to writing, but delivered it to some more perfect persons; and that the Word of God was not sufficient for deciding controversies of religion, however it be expounded, but that a more perfect revelation is to be expected.' Upon which he hath these words, "Intolerabile est, ut Paulus, quam accepit reconditiorem doctrinam, non scripto consignaverit; fuisset enim alioqui infidelis depositi minister." And it was most reasonable which Antonius Marinarius, a friar carmelite, did say, if some things were delivered in secret, it was under secret; because the apostles might as well have published it as their disciples: but if it was delivered as a secret, and consequently to be kept as secret, how came the successors of the apostles to publish this secret? To break open the seal, and reveal the forbidden secret? And, secondly, if the secret tradition which certainly was not necessary to all, be made public, how shall we know which traditions are necessary, and which are not? Certain it is, the secret tradition could not of itself be necessary; and, therefore, if it becomes so by being made public, it is that which the apostles intended not, for they would have it secret. And, therefore, it follows that now no man can tell that any of their traditions was intended as necessary; because the only way by which we could know which was and which was not necessary, viz. the making the one public, and keeping the other private, is now destroyed, since they are all alike common. All that which was delivered to all and in public, was, by the

[k] Page 16. [l] Salmeron tom. 15. in 2 Tim. iii. disp. iv. p. 607.

providence of God, ministering apt occasions, and by the Spirit of God inspiring the apostles and evangelists with a will to do it, set down in writing, that they might remain upon record for ever to all generations of the church: so St. Peter promised to the Jews of the dispersion, that he would do something "to put them in remembrance of the things he had taught them;" and he was as good as his word, and employed St. Mark to write the Gospel: others also of the apostles took the same care; and all were directed by God, and particular occurrences were concentered in the general design and counsel of God. So St. Irenæus[m], "The Gospel which the apostles preached, afterwards by the will of God, they delivered to us in the Scriptures." It was a tradition still; but now the word signified in its primitive and natural sense, not in the modern and ecclesiastical. But Irenæus[n] speaks of the Gospel; that is, the whole Gospel of God: not all the particulars that Jesus spake and did, but "whatever Christ would have us to read of his words and works, he commanded them to write, as if it were by his own hands." And, therefore, "Electa sunt quæ scriberentur, quæ saluti credentium sufficere videbantur:" "There was a choice made of such things as were to be written[o]:" it was not, therefore, done by chance and contingency (as many of the Roman doctors in disparagement of the Scriptures' sufficiency do object), but the "things were chosen," saith St. Austin;—"It was according to the will of God," said St. Irenæus;—and the choice was very good; all that sufficed to the salvation of believers: according to the words of St. John[p], "These things were written, that ye might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that, believing, ye might have life through his name."—And indeed there cannot be any probable cause inducing any wise man to believe that the apostles should pretend to write the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and that they should insert many things more than necessary, and yet omit any thing that was, and yet still call it 'the Gospel of Jesus Christ.'—Nicephorus[q] calls the epistles of St. Paul, 'A summary of what he plainly and explicitly did teach;' much more is

[m] Lib. iii. c. 1. [n] Tract. 49. in Johan.
[o] S. Augustin. lib. i. c. 35. de consensu evangel. [p] John, xx. 30, 31.
[q] Lib. ii. hist. c. 34.

every Gospel. But when all the four Gospels, and the apostolical Acts, and Epistles, and the visions of St. John, were all tied into a volume, by the counsel of God, by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and by the choice of the apostles; it cannot be probable that this should not be all the Gospel of Jesus Christ, all his will and testament. And, therefore, in vain does the cardinal Perron[r] strive to escape from this by acknowledging that the Gospel is the foundation of Christianity, as grammar is the foundation of eloquence; as the institutions of Justinian are of the study of the law; as the principles and institutions of a science are of the whole profession of it. It is not, in his sense, the foundation of Christian doctrine, but it contains it all; not only in general, but in special; not only virtual, but actual; not mediate, but immediate; for a few lines would have served for a foundation general, virtual, and mediate; if the Scripture had said, the church of Rome shall always be the catholic church, and the foundation of faith; she shall be infallible, and to her all Christians ought to have recourse for determination of their questions; this had been a sufficient virtual and mediate foundation: but when four Gospels, containing Christ's sermons and his miracles, his precepts and his promises; the mysteries of the kingdom, and the way of salvation; the things hidden from the beginning of the world, and the glories reserved to the great day of light and manifestation of Jesus; to say, that yet all these Gospels, and all the epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, and the Acts and sermons of the Apostles, in the first establishing of the church, are all but a foundation virtual; and that they point out the church indeed, by saying, 'she is the pillar and ground of truth;' but leave you to her for the foundation actual, special, and immediate; is an affirmation against the notoriety of fact. Add to this, that St. Irenæus[s] spake these words concerning the Scriptures, in confutation of them, who leaving the Scriptures, did run to traditions, pretendedly apostolical.

And though it be true, that the traditions they relied upon were secret, apocryphal, forged, and supposed; yet because even at that time there were such false wares ob-

[r] Contre le roi Jaq. p. 715.

[s] Lib. iii. c. 2.

truded, and even then the heretics could not want pretences sufficient to deceive, and hopes to prevail; how is it to be imagined, that in the descent of sixteen ages, the cheat might not be too prevalent? when, if the traditions be questioned, it will be impossible to prove them; and if they be false, it will, except it be by Scripture, be impossible to confute them. And after all; if yet there be any doctrines of faith or manners which are not contained in Scripture, and yet were preached by the apostles, let that be proved, let the traditions be produced, and records sufficient, primely credible and authentic, and we shall receive them. So vain a way of arguing it is, to say, the traditions, against which St. Irenæus speaks, were false, but ours are true; theirs were secret, but ours are open and notorious: for there are none such: and Bellarmine himself acknowledges, that 'the necessary things are delivered in Scriptures; and those which were reserved for tradition, were delivered apart; that is, secretly by the apostles[1]'. Now if they were so on all sides, what rule shall we have to distinguish the Valentinian traditions from the Roman? And why shall we believe these more than those; since all must be equally taken upon private testimony at first? And although it will be said, that the Roman traditions were received by after-ages, and the other were not: yet this shows nothing else, but that some had the fate to prevail, and others had not. For it is certain, that some were a long time believed, even for some whole ages under the name of the apostolical tradition (as the Millenary opinion, and the Asiatic manner of keeping Easter), which yet came to be disbelieved in their time: and also, it is certain that many which really were apostolical traditions, perished from the memory of men, and had not so long lives, as many that were not: so that all this is by chance, and can make no difference in the just authority. And therefore it is vainly said of cardinal Perron, 'that the case is not the same, because theirs are wrong, and ours are right.' For this ought not to have been said, till it were proved; and if it were proved, the whole question were at an end: for we should all receive them which were manifested to be doctrines apostolical. But in this, there need no fur-

[1] Ubi supra, c. 11. de verb. Dei non script. lib. iv.

ther dispute from the authority of Irenæus: his words concerning the fulness of Scripture, as to the whole doctrine of Christ, being so clear and manifest, as appears in the testimonies brought from him in the foregoing section. Optatus compares the Scriptures to the testator's will[u]: if there be a controversy among the descendants of the house, run to the Scriptures, see the original will: the Gospels are Christ's testament; and the epistles are the codicils annexed, and but by these we shall never know the will of the testator. But because the books of Scripture were not all written at once; nor at once communicated, nor at once received, therefore the churches of God at first, were forced to trust their memories, and to try the doctrines, by appealing to the memories of others; that is, to the consenting report, and faith delivered and preached to other churches, especially the chiefest, where the memory of the apostles was recent and permanent. The mysteriousness of Christ's priesthood, the perfection of his sacrifice, and the unity of it, Christ's advocation, and intercession for us in heaven, might very well be accounted traditions, before St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was admitted for canonical; but now they are written truths: and if they had not been written, it is likely we should have lost them. But this way could not long be necessary, and could not long be safe. Not necessary,—because it was supplied by a better; and to be tied to what was only necessary in the first state of things, is just as if a man should always be tied to suck milk, because at first, in his infancy, it was fit he should. Not safe,—because it grew worse and worse every day. And therefore, in a little while, even the traditions themselves were so far from being the touchstone of true doctrine, that themselves were brought to the stone of trial; and the tradition would not be admitted, unless it were in Scripture. By which it appears that tradition could not be a part of the rule of faith, distinct from the Scriptures, but itself was a part of it; that is, whatsoever was delivered and preached, was recorded; which they so firmly believed, that they rejected the tradition, unless it were so recorded: and, 2. It hence also follows that tradi-

[u] Lib. v. contr. Parmen. Biblioth. Patrum per Binium, tom. iv. Paris, 1589. page 510.

tion was, and was esteemed, the worse way of conveying propositions and stories; because the church required that the traditions should be proved by Scriptures; that is, the less certain by the more: that this was so, St. Cyprian is a sufficient witness. For when pope Stephen had said, 'Let nothing be changed; only that which is delivered,' meaning the old tradition, 'that was to be kept;'—St. Cyprian[x] inquires from whence that tradition comes? "Does it come from the Gospels, or the epistles, or the Acts of the Apostles?"—So that after the writing and reception of Scriptures, tradition meant the same thing which was in Scripture; or if it did not, the fathers would not admit it. "All things which are delivered to us by the law and the prophets, the apostles and evangelists, we receive, and know, and reverence: but we inquire no further; nothing beyond them[y]."—If the traditions be agreeable to Scripture, said St. Irenæus[z], that is, if that which is pretended to be taught at first, be recorded by them who did teach it, then all is well. And this affair is fully testified by the words of Eusebius, which are greatly conclusive of this inquiry: "We have (saith he) promised, that we would propose the voices of the old ecclesiastical presbyters and writers; by which they declared the traditions by the authority witnessed and consigned of the approved Scriptures." Amongst whom was Irenæus, says the Latin version.

But I shall descend to a consideration of the particulars, which pretend to come to us by tradition, and without it cannot, as is said, be proved by Scripture.

1. It is said that the Scripture itself is wholly derived to us by tradition; and, therefore, besides Scripture, tradition is necessary in the church. And, indeed, no man that understands this question, denies it: this tradition, that these books were written by the apostles, and were delivered by the apostles to the churches as the word of God, relies principally upon tradition universal; that is, it was witnessed to be true by all the Christian world at their first being so consigned. Now then this is no part of the word of God; but the notification, or manner of conveying the

[x] Epist. ad Pompeium contra epist. Stephani.

[y] Damasc. de Orthod. Fide, c. 1.

[z] Apud Euseb. lib. v. c. 20. πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. Lib. v. c. 8.

word of God; the instrument of its delivery. So that the tradition concerning the Scriptures being extrinsical to Scripture is also extrinsical to the question: this tradition cannot be an objection against the sufficiency of Scripture to salvation: but must go before this question. For no man inquires, Whether the Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation? unless he believe that there are Scriptures; that these are they; and that they are the word of God: all this comes to us by tradition, that is, by universal undeniable testimony. After the Scriptures are thus received, there is risen another question, viz. Whether or no these Scriptures so delivered to us, do contain all the word of God? or, Whether or no, besides the tradition that goes before Scripture, which is an instrumental tradition only of Scripture, there be not also something else that is necessary to salvation consigned by tradition, as well as the Scripture, and of things as necessary or useful as what is contained in Scripture, and that is equally the word of God as Scripture is? The tradition of Scripture we receive; but of nothing else but what is in Scripture. And if it be asked, Why we receive one and not the rest: we answer, because we have but one tradition of things necessary; that is, there is an universal tradition of Scripture, and what concerns it; but none of other things which are not in Scripture: and there is no necessity we should have any; all things necessary and profitable to the salvation of all men, being plainly contained in Scriptures; and this sufficiency also being a part of that tradition, as I am now proving[a].

But because other things[b] also are pretended to be, or are necessary, and yet are said not to be in Scripture, it is necessary that this should be examined. 1. First, all the Nicene definitions, Trinity of persons in one Divine essence. This I should not have thought worthy of considering in the words here expressed, but that a friend, it seems of my own, whom I know not, but yet an adversary, as he who should

[a] It is therefore weakly said by E. W. page 5. If he says, that he impugns all tradition in general, all doctrine not expressly contained in Scripture; he is forced to throw away Scripture itself, &c.

[b] E. W. ibid. He is forced not only to throw away Scripture itself, and the Nicene definitions; not only to disclaim a Trinity of persons in one Divine essence, baptizing of children, &c. but every tenet of protestant religion, as protestantism, *e. g.* the belief of two sacraments only.

know him best, (that is, himself) assures me, is pleased to use these words[c] in the objection. To this I answer first, that this gentleman would be much to seek if he were put to it, to prove the Trinity of persons in one Divine essence to be an express Nicene definition; and, therefore, if he means that as an instance of the Nicene definitions, he will find himself mistaken. Indeed at Nice, the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was determined; but nothing of the divinity of the Holy Ghost, that was the result of after-councils. But whatever it was which was there determined, I am sure it was not determined by tradition, but by Scripture. So St. Athanasius tells us of the faith which was confessed by the Nicene fathers; "it was the faith confessed according to the holy Scriptures[d]:" and speaking to Serapion of the holy Trinity, he says, "Learn this out of the holy Scriptures. For the documents you find in them, are sufficient[e]." And, writing against Samosatenus, he proves the incarnation of the Son of God out of the Gospel of St. John, saying, "It becomes us to stick close to the word of God[f]." And therefore when Constantine the emperor exhorted the Nicene fathers to concord in the question then to be disputed; they being Divine matters, he would they should be ended by the authority of the Divine Scriptures. "For (saith he[g]) the books of the evangelists and apostles, as also the oracles of the old prophets, do evidently teach us what we are to think of the Deity. Therefore all seditious contention being laid aside, let us determine the things brought into question by the testimonies of the divinely inspired Scriptures." And they did so. And by relying on Scriptures only, we shall never be constrained to quit these glorious portions of evangelical truth, the incarnation of the eternal Word, and the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son.—"Whatsoever ought to be known of these mysteries is contained in both testaments," saith Rupertus Tuitiensis, before quoted. And if the holy Scriptures did not teach us

[c] The same also he says concerning the Nicene and the other three Councils, and St. Athanasius' Creed, p. 8.

[d] Epist. ad Epictet. Corinth. Episc.

[e] Lib. iii. ad Serap. de Spir. S. Id. de Incarnat.

[f] Theodoret. lib. i. c. 7.

[g] Et apud Gelas. Cyzicen. in actis Concil. Nicen. lib. ii. c. 7.

in these mysteries, we should find tradition to be but a lame leg, or rather a reed of Egypt. For Artemon[h], who was the first founder of that error which afterwards belched into Arianism, pretended a tradition from the apostles, that Christ was a mere man. And that tradition descended to the time of pope Zepherinus, who first gave a stop to it: and Justin Martyr[i] says, that divers among the Christians, affirmed "Christ to be not God of God, but man of man."—And the Arians offered to be tried by tradition[k]; and, therefore, pretended to it, and, therefore, the catholics did not; at least according to the new doctrine, 'that if one pretends tradition, the other cannot.' But, for all that trifle, St. Athanasius did sometimes pretend to it, though not always; and this shows that there was no clear, indubitate, notorious, universal tradition in the question; and if there were not such an one, as good none at all; for it could not be such a foundation as was fit to build our faith upon, especially in such mysterious articles. But it is remarkable what Eusebius[l] recites out of an old author, who wrote against the heresy of Artemon, which afterwards Samosatenus renewed, and Arius made public with some alteration; "they all say," says he, "that our ancestors and the apostles themselves, not only received from our Lord those things which they now affirm, but that they taught it to others; and the preaching or tradition of it run on to the days of pope Victor, and was kept entire, but was depraved by pope Zepherinus. And truly that which was said by them, might seem to have in it much of probability, if the Divine Scriptures did not first of all contradict them, and that there were writings of some brethren elder than the times of Victor." The brethren, whose writings he names, are Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clemens, Irenæus, and the psalms and hymns of divers, made in honour of Christ. From all which it is evident, that the questions at Nice, were not, and could not be, determined by tradition. 2. That tradition might be, and was pretended on both sides. 3. That when it is pretended by the contradicting parties with some probability, it can effec-

[h] Apud Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. v. c. 27.
[i] Dial. contr. Tryph. Jud.
[k] Vide etiam Theod. lib. i. Eccles. hist. c. 8.
[l] Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. v. c. 27. Lat. 28. Gr.

tually serve neither. 4. That the tradition the Samosatenians and Arians boasted of, had in it much probability, when looked upon in its own series and proper state. 5. That the Divine Scriptures were, at that time, the best firmament of the church, and defended her from that abuse, which might have been imposed upon her, under the title of tradition. 6. That even when tradition was opposed to tradition, and the right to the wrong, yet it was not oral or verbal tradition, according to the new mode, but the writings of the doctors that were before them. But after all this, I cannot but observe and deplore the sad consequents of the Roman doctors' pretension, that this "great mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh," relies wholly upon unwritten traditions. For the Socinians, knowing that tradition was on both sides claimed in this article, please themselves in the concession of their adversaries, that this is not to be proved by Scripture. So they allege the testimony of Eccius, and cardinal Hosius, one of the legates, presiding at Trent; "Doctrinam de trino et uno Deo, esse dogma traditionis, et ex Scripturâ nullâ ratione probari posse[m]." The same was affirmed by Tanner, and all that were on that side, in the conference at Ratisbon, by Hieronymus à S. Hyacintho, and others. Now they being secured by their very enemies, that they need not fear Scriptures in this question; and knowing themselves that tradition cannot alone do it; they are at peace, and dwell in confidence in this their capital error: and the false peace is owing to the Roman doctors; who in Italy help to make atheists, and in Polonia Socinians: and as a consequent to all this, I remember they scorn Cichovius, who endeavoured to confute them by a hundred arguments from Scriptures, since his own parties do too freely declare, that not one of those hundred prove the question[n].

2. The next necessary article pretended to stand upon tradition, is, the baptizing children. Concerning which, I consider either the matter of fact, or matter of doctrine. The matter of fact is indifferent, if abstracted from the doctrine. For at the first they did, or they did not, according

[m] In locis commun. page 208, 209.

[n] Confessionis Christianæ ad rogum damnatæ et combustæ Manium à R. D. Nicolao Cichovio lacessitorum, sui vindices. Impress. A. D. 1652.

as they pleased; for there is no pretence of tradition, that the church in all ages did baptize all the infants of Christian parents. It is more certain, that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first age. St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Austin, were born of Christian parents, and yet not baptized, until the full age of a man, and more. But that the apostles did baptize any children, is not at all reported by a primely credible tradition, or a famous report: but that they did so is only conjectured at; or if it be more, yet that more, whatsoever it be, relies upon the testimony of Scripture; as St. Paul's baptizing the households of Stephanas and the gaoler. But then, if they did, or if they did not, yet, without an appendant doctrine, this passes on by the voluntary practice of the church; and might be, or not be, as they pleased; as it was in the case of confirming them, and communicating them at the same time they baptized them; concerning which, because we live to have seen and read of several customs of the church in several ages; it is also after the same manner in baptism, if we consider it only in the matter of fact.

But then, if we consider the doctrine appendant to it, or the cause why it is pretended they were baptized; even that children should be brought to Christ, should receive his blessing, should be adopted into the kingdom of God, should be made members of the second Adam, and be translated from the death, introduced by the first, to the life revealed by the second, and that they may receive the holy spirit, and a title to the promises evangelical, and be born again, and admitted into a state of covenant, in which they can receive the gift of eternal life,—which I take to be the proper reasons, why the church baptizes infants. And these are wholly derived to us from Scripture grounds. But then, as to that reason, upon which the church of Rome baptizes infants, even because it is necessary, and because without it children shall not see God; it is certain there is no universal, or prime tradition for that. St. Austin was the hard father of that doctrine. And if we take the whole doctrine and practice together without distinction, that it was the custom so to do in some churches, and at some times, is without all question; but that there is a tradition from the apostles so to do, relies but upon two witnesses,

Origen, and St. Austin; and the latter having received it from the former, it relies wholly upon his single testimony; which is but a pitiful argument to prove a tradition apostolical[o]. He is the first that spoke of it; but Tertullian[p] that was before him, seems to speak against it, which he would not have done, if it had been a tradition apostolical. And that it was not so, is but too certain, if there be any truth in the words of Ludovicus Vives[q], saying, that 'anciently none were baptized, but persons of ripe age:' which words, I suppose, are to be understood κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον, and 'for the most part.' But although the tradition be uncertain, weak, little, and contingent; yet the church of God, whenever she did it (and she might do it at any time), did do it upon Scripture grounds. And it was but weakly said by cardinal Perron[r], that there is no place of Scripture, by which we can evidently and necessarily convince the anabaptists. For, 1. If that were true, yet it is more certain, that by tradition they will never be persuaded; not only because there is no sufficient and full tradition; but because they reject the topic. 2. Although the anabaptists endeavour to elude the arguments of Scripture, yet it follows not that Scripture is not clear and certain in the article; for it is an easy thing to say something to every thing; but if that be enough against the argument, then no heretic can be convinced by Scripture, and there is in Scripture no pregnant testimony for any point of faith; for in all questions, all heretics prattle something. And, therefore, it is not a wise procedure, to say, the adversaries do answer the testimonies of Scripture,—and by Scripture, cannot be convinced; and, therefore, choose some other way of probation: For, when that is done, will they be convinced? And cannot the cardinal satisfy himself by Scripture, though the heretic will not confess himself confuted? The papists say, they answer the protestants' arguments from Scripture; but though they say so to eternal ages, yet in the world nothing is

[o] Secundum ecclesiæ observantiam (ait) in Levit. c. 12, 13. Hom. 8. quem locum citat Perron: hæc autem verba non aiunt, ab apostolis hanc manasse observantiam.

[p] Lib. de Baptis. cap. 18. [q] In S. August. de Civit. Dei. lib. i. c. 27.

[r] Réplique à la réponse du roi Jacques, p. 701.

plainer, than that they only say so; and that, for all that confident and enforced saying, the Scriptures are still apparently against them. 3. If the Anabaptists speak probably and reasonably in their answers; then it will rather follow, that the point is not necessary, than that it must be proved necessary by some other topic. 4. All people that believe baptism of infants necessary, think that they sufficiently prove it from Scripture; and Bellarmine, though he also urges this point, as an argument for tradition, yet, upon wiser thoughts, he proves it (and not unsuccessfully) by three arguments from Scripture.

3. Like to this, is the pretence of the validity of the baptism of heretics; it is cardinal Perron's own instance, and the first of the four he alleges for the necessity of tradition; this he holds for a doctrine orthodox, and apostolic, and yet (says he) there is no word of it in Scripture; it is certain there was no apostolical tradition for it. For St. Cyprian[s], and all his colleagues, were of an opinion contrary to that of the Roman church, in this article; and when they opposed against St. Cyprian a tradition, he knew of no such thing, and bid them prove their tradition from Scripture. 2. St. Austin, who was something warm in this point, yet confesses, the apostles commanded nothing in it; but then he does almost beg us to believe it came from them. "Consuetudo illa, quæ opponebatur Cypriano, ab eorum traditione exordium sumpsisse credenda est; sicut sunt multa quæ universa tenet ecclesia, et ob hoc ab apostolis benè præcepta traduntur, quanquam scripta non reperiantur:" which in plain meaning is this; we find a custom in the church, and we know not whence it comes; and it is so in this, as in many other things; and, therefore, let us think the best, and believe it came by tradition from the apostles. But, it seems, himself was not sure that so little a foundation could carry so big a weight; he, therefore, plainly hath recourse to Scripture in this question: "Whether is more pernicious not to be baptized, or to be re-baptized, is hard to judge: nevertheless, having recourse to the standard of our Lord, where the monuments of this are not estimated by human sense, but by Divine authority, I find concerning each

[s] Epist. ad Pompeium.

of them, the sentence of our Lord[t];" to wit, in the Scriptures. But 3. The question itself is not of a thing necessary; for St. Cyprian and the bishops of Cappadocia and Galatia, and almost two parts of the known world, whose sentiment was differing from others, yet lived and died in the communion of those churches, who believed the contrary doctrine: and so it might have been still, if things were estimated but according to their intrinsic value. And since, as St. Austin says[u], they might safely differ in judgment before the determination of this question in a council; it follows evidently, that there was no clear tradition against them; or, convincing argument. For as it is not imaginable, so great and wise a part of the catholic church should be ignorant of any famous apostolical tradition; especially when they were called upon to attend to it, and were urged and pressed by it: so, it is also very certain, there was none such in St. Cyprian's time, because the sixth general council approved of the canon made in the council of Carthage, because, "in prædictorum præsulum locis et solum secundum traditam eis consuetudinem servatus est[x]." 4. It had been best, if the question had never been moved; and the next best had been to have suppressed and forgotten it instantly; for, as it came in by zeal and partiality in the hands of the Cappadocian bishops, so it was fed by pride and faction in the hands of the Donatists; and it could have no determination, but the mere nature of the thing itself; all the apostles and ministers of religion were commanded to baptize in water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and this was an admission to Christianity, not to any sect of it; and if this had been considered wisely, so it had been done by a Christian minister in matter and form, there could be no more in it. And, therefore, the whole thing was to no purpose: so far was it from being an article of faith.

4. The next pretence is, that the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, is an article of our faith, and yet no where told in Scripture; and, consequently, tradition must help to make up the object of our faith. To

[t] Contra Donatist. lib. iv. c. 14, &c. 17 et 24.
[u] Lib. i. de Baptist. cap. 18. [x] Can. 2.

this, some very excellent persons have opposed this consideration, that the Greeks and Latins differ but in 'modo loquendi;' and, therefore, both speaking the same thing in differing words, show, that the controversy itself is trifling or mistaken. But though I wish them agreed; yet, when I consider, that in all the endeavours for union at the council of Florence, they never understood one another to purposes of peace; I am apt to believe that those who would reconcile them, show their piety more than the truth of the thing, and that the Greeks and Latins differed entirely in this point. But then, that on the Latin side there should be a tradition apostolical, can, upon no other account, be pretended, but that they could not prove it by Scripture, or show any ecclesiastical law or authority for it. Now, if we consider that the Greeks pretend their doctrine, not only from Scripture, but also from immemorial tradition, that is, that they have not innovated the doctrine which their fathers taught them; and on the other side, that the Latins have, contrary to the canon of the council of Ephesus, superadded the clause of 'Filioque' to the Constantinopolitan creed, and that by authority of a little convention of bishops at Chantilly, near to Paris, without the consent of the catholic church; and that by the confession of cardinal Perron[1], not only the Scripture favours the Greeks, but reason also; because it is unimaginable, that the same particular effect should proceed from two principles in the same kind; and although the three persons created the world, yet that production was from the Divine essence, which is but one principle; but the opinion of the Latins is, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from two persons, as persons; and, therefore, from two principles, it will be very hard to suppose, that because all this is against them, therefore it is certain, that they had this from apostolical tradition. The more natural consequence is, that their proposition is either mistaken or uncertain, or not an article of faith (which is rather to be hoped, lest we condemn all the Greek churches as infidels, or perverse heretics), or else that it can be derived from Scripture; which last is indeed the most probable,

[1] Contre le roi Jacques, p. 709.

and pursuant to the doctrine of those wiser Latins, who examined things by reason, and not by prejudice. But cardinal Perron's argument is no better than this: Titius was accused to have deserted his station in the battle, and carried false orders to the legion of Spurinna; he answers, I must either have received orders from the general, or else you must suppose me to be a coward, or a traitor; for I had no warrant for what I did from the book of military discipline. Well, what if you be supposed to be a coward, or traitor; what hurt is it in that supposition? But must I conclude, that you had order from the general, for fear I should think you did it on your own head, or that you are a traitor? That is the case; either this proposition is derived to us by apostolical tradition, or we have nothing else to say for ourselves. Well! "Nempe hoc Ithacus velit;" 'The Greeks allow' the argument, and will say thus: you had nothing to say for yourselves, unless we grant that to you which is the question, and which you can never prove, viz., that there is for this article an apostolical tradition: but because both sides pretend that, let us try this thing by Scripture. And, indeed, that is the only way. And cardinal Perron's argument may, by any Greek, be inverted, and turned upon himself. For he saying it 'is not in Scripture, therefore it is a tradition of the church;' it is as good an argument,—it is not delivered to us by universal tradition; therefore, either it is not at all, or it is derived to us from Scripture: and upon the account of this, for my part, I do believe it.

5. The last instance of cardinal Perron, is the observation of the Lord's day; but this is matter of discipline and external rite; and, because it cannot pretend to be an article of faith, or essentially necessary doctrine, the consideration is different from the rest. And it is soon at an end; but that the cardinal would fain make something of nothing, by telling that the Jews complain of the Christians for changing circumcision into baptism, and the Saturday-sabbath into the dominical, or Lord's day. He might as well have added, they cry out against the Christians, for changing Moses into Christ, the law into the gospel, the covenant of works into the covenant of faith, ceremonies into substances, and rituals

into spiritualities. And we need no further inquiry into this question, but to consider what the cardinal says[z], that "God did the sabbath a special honour by writing this ceremonial alone, into the summary of the moral law."—Now I demand, whether there be not clear and plain Scripture, for the abolishing of the law of ceremonies? If there be, then the law of the sabbath is abolished. It is part of 'the hand-writing of ordinances, which Christ nailed to his cross.' Now, when the sabbath ceases to be obligatory, the church is at liberty: but that there should be a time sanctified, or set apart for the proper service of God, I hope is also very clear from Scripture; and that the circumstances of religion are in the power of the presidents of religion; and then it will follow from Scripture, that the apostles, or their successors, or whoever did appoint the Sunday festival, had not only great reason, but full authority, to appoint that day; and that this was done early, and continued constantly for the same reason, and by an equal authority, is no question. But as to the sabbath, St. Paul gave express order[a], that no man should be judged by any part of the ceremonial law, and particularly names the sabbath days, saying, "They all were a shadow of things to come, but Christ is the substance." And yet, after all this, the keeping of the Lord's day was no law in Christendom, till the Laodicean council; but the Jewish sabbath was kept as strictly as the Christian Lord's day, and yet both of them with liberty, but with an intuition to the avoiding offence, and the interests of religion: and the Lord's day came not instead of the sabbath, and it did not succeed in the place of the sabbath, but was merely a Christian festival, and holyday. But at last; that the keeping of the Lord's day be a tradition apostolical, I desire it were heartily believed, by every Christian; for though it would make nothing against the sufficiency of Scriptures, in all questions of faith and rules of manners, yet it might be an engagement on all men to keep it with the greater religion.

6. At the end of this, it is fit I take notice of another particular, offered by the by, not in justification of tradition, but in defiance of them that oppose it. "If the protestants

[z] Perron, ibid. 710. [a] Colos. ii. 16.

oppose all tradition in general, they must quit every tenet of protestant religion, as protestantism: for example's sake: the belief of two sacraments only, &c.[b]" The charge is fierce, and the stroke is little. It was unadvisedly said, that every protestant doctrine 'quâ talis,' must be quitted if Scripture be the rule: for this very proposition, that Scripture is the rule of our faith, is a main protestant doctrine; and, therefore, certainly must not be quitted; if Scripture be the rule, that is, if the doctrine be true, it must not be forsaken. And although in the whole progress of this book, protestant religion will be greatly justified by Scripture, yet, for the present, I desire the gentleman to consider a little better about giving the chalice to all communicants; whether their denying it to the laity be by authority of Scripture? And I desire him to consider what place of the Old or New Testament he hath, for worshipping and making the images of God the Father, and the Holy Ghost, or for having their public devotions in an unknown tongue. But of these hereafter.

As to the instance of two sacraments only, I desire the gentleman to understand our doctrine a little better. It is none of the doctrine of the church of England, that there are two sacraments only; but that, of those rituals commanded in Scripture, which the ecclesiastical use calls sacraments (by a word of art), "two only are generally necessary to salvation." And although we are able to prove this by a tradition much more universal, than by which the Roman doctors can prove seven, yet we rely upon Scripture for our doctrine: and though, it may be, I shall not dispute it with this gentleman that sends his cartel, unless he had given better proof of his learning and his temper; yet, I suppose, if he reads this book over, he shall find something first or last to instruct him, or at least to entertain him in that particular also. But for the present, lest such an unconcerning trifle be forgotten, I desire him to consider that he hath little reason to consider himself in the just number of seven sacraments; for that there are brought in amongst them some new devices, I cannot call them sacraments, but something like what they have already forged, which being but

[b] E. W. p. 5.

external rites, yet outdo most of their sacraments. About the year 1630, there were introduced into Ireland, by the Franciscans and Carmelite friars, three pretty propositions, 1. Whosoever shall die in the habit of St. Francis, shall never be prevented with an unhappy death. 2. Whosoever shall take the scapular of the Carmelites, and die in the same, shall never be damned. 3. Whosoever shall fast the first Saturday after they have heard of the death of Luissa, a Spanish nun of the order of St. Clare, shall have no part in the second death. Now these external rites promise more grace than is conferred by their sacraments; for it promises a certainty of glory, and an intermediate certainty of being in the state of grace; which to them is not and cannot be done, according to their doctrine, by all the other sacraments and sacramentals of their church. Now, these things are derived to them by pretended revelations of St. Francis and St. Simon Stock. And though I know not what the priests and friars in England will think or say of this matter, yet I assure them, in Ireland they are of great account, and with much fancy, religion and veneration, used at this day. And, not long since, visiting some of my churches, I found an old nun in the neighbourhood, a poor Clare, as I think; but missing her cord about her, which I had formerly observed her to wear, I asked the cause, and was freely answered, that a gentlewoman, who had lately died, had purchased it of her, to put about her in her grave. And of how great veneration the Saturday-fast is here, every one knows, but the cause I knew not, till I had learned the story of St. Luissa; and that Flemming, their archbishop of Dublin, had given countenance to it by his example and credulity. But now it may be perceived, that the question of seven sacraments is outdone by the intervention of some new ones, which, although they want the name, do greater effects, and, therefore, have a better title.

But I proceed to more material considerations. Cardinal Perron hath chosen no other instances of matters necessary (as he supposes them); but there are many ritual matters, customs, and ceremonies, which were (at least it is said so) practised by the apostolical churches; and some, it may be, are descended down to us: but because the churches practise many things which the apostles did not, and the apostles did

and ordained many things, which the church does not observe, it will not appertain to the question, to say, there are, or are not, in these things traditions apostolical. The college of widows is dissolved; the canon of abstaining from things strangled, obliges not the church[c]: and St. Paul's rule of not electing a bishop that is a novice, or young Christian, is not always observed at Rome; nay, St. Paul himself consecrated Timothy when he was but twenty-five years of age: and the Wednesday and Friday fast[d], is pretended to have been a precept from the very times of the apostles; and yet it is observed but in very few places: and of the fifty canons called apostolical, very few are observed in the church at this day; and of eighty-four collected by Clement, as was supposed, Michael Medina says[e], scarce six or eight are observed by the Latin church. For 'in them many things are contained,' saith Peresius[f], 'which by the corruption of times, are not fully observed; others, according to the quality of the matter and time, being obliterated, or abrogated, by the magistery of the whole church.' Tertullian[g] speaks of divers unwritten customs, of which "tradition is the author, custom is the confirmer, and faith is the observer." Such are the 'renunciations in the office of baptism, trine immersion, tasting milk and honey; abstinence from the bath, for a week after; the receiving the eucharist before day, or in the time of their meal, from the hand of the presidents of religion; anniversary oblations on birth days, and for the dead; not to fast, not to kneel on Sundays; perpetual festivities from Easter to Whitsuntide; not to endure, without great trouble, bread or drink to fall upon the ground; and, at every motion, to sign the forehead with the sign of the cross.' Some of these are rituals, and some are still observed, and some are superstitious and observed by no body; and some that are not, may be if the church please: these, indeed, were traditions or customs before his time; but not so much as pretended to be apostolical; but if they were,

[c] Vide Ductor Dubitantium, Rule of Conscience, lib. iii. Reg. 11. n. 5, 6.

[d] Reginald. Praxis Fori Pœnit. lib. iv. c. 12. sect. 3. n. 133.

[e] De Sacr. Hom. Conti. lib. v. c. 105.

[f] Peres. de Tradit. part. 3. c. De Auctor. Canon. Apost.

[g] De Coron. Milit. c. 3 et 4.

are yet of the same consideration with the rest. If they be customs of the church, they are not, without great reason and just authority, to be laid aside: but are of no other argument against Scripture, than if all the particular customs of all churches were urged. For, if they had come from the apostles (as these did not), yet if the apostles say, 'dicit Dominus,' they must be obeyed for ever; but if the word be, 'dico ego, non Dominus,' the church hath her liberty to do what, in the changing times, is most for edification. And, therefore, in these things, let the church of Rome pretend what traditions apostolical she please of this nature, the church may keep them, or lay them aside, according to what they judge is best. For if those canons and traditions of the apostles, of which there is no question, and which are recorded in Scripture, yet are worn out and laid aside; those, certainly, which are pretended to be such, and cannot be proved, cannot pass into perpetual obligation, whether the churches will or no.

I shall not need, upon this head, to consider any more instances, because all the points of popery are pretended to rely upon tradition. The novelty of which because I shall demonstrate in their proper places, proving them to be so far from being traditions apostolical, that they are mere innovations in religion,—I shall now represent the uncertainty and fallibility of the pretence of traditions in ordinary; and the certain deceptions of those who trust them, and the impossibility of ending many questions by them. I shall not bring the usual arguments which are brought from Scriptures against traditions; because although those which Christ condemns in the Pharisees, and the apostles in heretical persons, are not reproved for being traditions, but for being without Divine authority; that is, they are either against the commandment of God, or without any warrant from God: yet if there be any traditions, real and true, that is, words of God not written, they, if they could be shown, would be very good. But then I desire the same ingenuity on the other side; and that the Roman writers would not trouble the question, or abuse their readers, by bringing Scriptures to prove their traditions; not by showing they are recorded in Scripture, but by bringing Scripture where the word

tradition is named[h]. For besides that such places cannot be, with any modesty, pretended, as proofs of the particular traditions; it is also certain, that they cannot prove that in general there are, or can be, any unrecorded Scripture, when the whole canon should be written, consigned and entertained. For it may be necessary, that traditions should be called on to be kept before Scriptures were written, and yet afterwards not necessary; and those things which were delivered and are not in Scripture, may be lost, because they were not written; and then that may be impossible for us to do, which at first might have been done. But this being laid aside, I proceed to considerations proper to the question.

1. Tertullian, St. Jerome, and St. Austin, are pretended the great patrons of tradition; and they have given rules by which we shall know apostolical traditions: and it is well they do so; for sand ought to be put into a glass, and water into a vessel; something to limit the running element, that when you have received it, you may keep it. A nuncupative record is like figures in the air, or diagrams in sand; the air and the wind will soon disorder the lines. And God, knowing this, and all things else, would not trust so much as the ten words of Moses to oral tradition, but twice wrote them in tables of stone with his own finger. "I know," said St. Clement[i], "that many things are lost by length of time, for want of writing; and, therefore, I, of necessity, make use of memorials, and collection of chapters, to supply the weakness of my memory." And when St. Ignatius, in his journey towards martyrdom, confirmed the churches through which he passed, by private exhortations, as well as he was permitted; he exhorted them all, to adhere to the tradition of the apostles, (meaning that doctrine which was preached by them in their churches), and added this advice or caution, "That he esteemed it was necessary, that this tradition should be committed to writing[k]," that it might be preserved to posterity: and reports by word of mouth are uncertain, that for want of good records[l], we cannot tell who

[h] 2 Thess. ii. 2 Tim. ii.
[i] Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. i. p. 276.
[k] Euseb. lib. iii. Eccles. Hist. c. 35. Græc.
[l] Theodoret. lib. i. c. 3. Eccles. Hist.

was St. Peter's successor immediately,—whether Clemens, Linus, or Anacletus; and the subscriptions of St. Paul's epistles, having no record but the uncertain voice of tradition, are, in some things, evidently mistaken, and in some others, very uncertain. And upon the same account, we cannot tell how many bishops were convened at Nice[m]: Eusebius says they were two hundred and fifty. St. Athanasius says they were just three hundred. Eustatius, in Theodoret, says they were above two hundred and seventy. Sozomen says they were about three hundred and ten. Epiphanius and others say they were three hundred and eighteen. And when we consider how many pretences have been, and are daily made of traditions apostolical, which yet are not so, a wise man will take heed, lest his credulity and good nature make him to become a fool. St. Clemens Alexandrinus says, that the apostles preached to dead infidels, and then raised them to life; and that the Greeks were justified by their philosophy; and accounts these among the ancient traditions. Pope Marcellus[n] was bold to say, that it was an apostolical tradition or canon, that a council could not be called but by the authority of the bishop of Rome: but the churches in the first ages practised otherwise, and the Greeks never believed it; nor are all the Latin churches of that opinion, as shall be shown in the sequel. The second canon of the council in Trullo commands observation of no less than four score and five canons apostolical delivered to the church; but, besides that no church keeps them, there are not many who believe that they came from the apostles. St. Austin said that the communicating of infants was an apostolical tradition; but neither the protestants nor the papists believe him in that particular. Clemens Alexandrinus said[o], that Christ preached but one year: St. Irenæus confutes that tradition vehemently, and said it was an apostolical tradition, "That Christ was about fifty years of age when he died, and, therefore, it must be, that he preached almost twenty years; for the Scripture says[p], 'Jesus began to be about thirty years old, when he was baptized;' and presently after he began to preach."

[m] Bellar. de Concil. et Eccles. lib. i. c. 5. sect. De Numero.
[n] Epist. ad Epist. Antioch. [o] Stromat. lib. i., lib. ii. c. 39.
[p] Matt. iv. 17. Mark, i. 14. Luke, iii. 23.

Now, this story of the great age of Christ, Irenæus says, "That all the old men that were with St. John, the disciple of our Lord, say, that St. John did deliver unto them." Nay, not only so, but "some of them heard the same from others also of the apostles." There were many more of such traditions; "the day would fail to reckon all the unwritten mysteries of the church," said the author of the last chapters of the book 'de Spiritu Sancto,' falsely imputed to St. Basil[q]: and yet he could reckon but a few; all the rest are lost: and of those that remain, some are not at all observed in any church. But there cannot be a greater instance of the vanity of pretending traditions, than the collection of the canons apostolical by Clement, which Damascen[r] reckons as parts of the New Testament, that is, equal to canonical writing of the apostles; but Isidore Hispalensis says[s], "they were apocryphal, made by heretics, and published in the name of the apostles; but neither the fathers nor the church of Rome did give assent to them:" and yet their authority is received by many in the church of Rome even at this day. But it is to be observed, that men accept them, or refuse them, not according to their authority, which, in all the first fifty at least, is equal: but if they be for their interest, then they are apostolical; if against them, then they are interpolated, and apocryphal, and spurious, and heretical; as it hath happened in the fifth canon, and the eighty-fourth and eighty-fifth.

But this is yet more manifest, if we consider what Origen says[t], "No man ought, for the confirmation of doctrines," or opinions, "to use books which are not canonized Scriptures." Now, for aught appears to the contrary, many traditions were two or three hundred years old the first day they were born; and it is not easy to reckon by what means

[q] Cap. 29.

[r] Orth. Fide, lib. i. c. 18.

[s] Apud Gratian. dist. 16. c. Canones.

[t] Tract. 26, in Matt. Oportet cautè considerare, ut nec omnia secreta, quæ feruntur nomine Sanctorum, suscipiamus, propter Judæos, qui fortè ad destructionem veritatis Scripturarum nostrarum quædam finxerunt confirmantes dogmata falsa; nec omnia adjiciamus, quæ pertinent ad demonstrationem Scripturarum nostrarum: magni ergo viri est audire et adimplere quod dictum est, 'Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.' Tamen propter eos qui non possunt, quasi Trapezitæ, inter verba discernere, vera habeantur an falsa, et non possunt semetipsos cautè servare, ut verum quidem teneant apud se, ab omni autem specie malâ abstineant, nemo uti debet, ad confirmationem dogmatum, libris, qui sunt extra canonizatas Scripturas.

the fathers came, or might come, to admit many things to be tradition; and themselves were not sure: therefore, they made rules of their conjecture, presumptions, and sometimes weak arguments. It will be much more hard for us to tell which are right and which are wrong,—who have nothing but their rules, which were then but conjectural, and are since proved in many instances to be improbable.

1. Such is that rule of St. Austin[u], "Whatsoever was anciently received, and not instituted (so far as men looking back may observe) by posterity, that is, not decreed by councils, may most rightly be believed to descend from apostolical tradition:" that is, if we do not know the beginning of a universal custom, we may safely conclude it to be primitive and apostolic. Which kind of rule is something like what a witty gentleman said of an old man and an old woman in Ireland; that if they should agree to say that they were Adam and Eve, no man living could disprove them. But though these persons are so old that no man remembers their beginning, and though a custom be immemorial, and hath prevailed far and long; yet to reduce this to the beginning of things may be presumed by him that hath a mind to it, but can never convince him that hath not. And it is certain, this rule is but a precarious pitiful presumption, since every ancient custom that any succeeding age hath a mind to continue, may, for the credit of it, and the ignorance of the original, like new upstart gentlemen, be entituled to an honourable house. "Every one believes the commandments of his ancestors to be traditions apostolical;" said St. Jerome:—and that these came in by private authority, and yet obtained a public name, we have competent warranty from Tertullian[x], who justifies it thus far; "Do you not think it lawful for every faithful man to appoint whatever he thinks may please God, unto discipline and salvation?" And, "From whomsoever the tradition comes, regard not the author, but the authority." And St. Irenæus tells[y], that the variety of keeping lent, which puts in strongly also to be an apostolical tradition, began among his ancestors, "who did not accurately observe their customs, who,

[u] De Baptis. contr. Donat. lib. iv. c. 24, et c. 6.
[x] De Coronâ Milit. c. 4. [y] Apud Euseb. lib. c. 26. Gr. 24. Lat.

by a certain simplicity or private authority, appointed any thing for their posterity." So that here it is apparent, that every private man that was of an ancient standing in the church, might introduce customs and usages, which himself thought pious. And next, it is also evident, that when these customs, derived from their ancestors, happened to continue in a lasting use, their posterity was apt to call them traditions apostolical: according to Tertullian[z], who confessed this very thing. Thus things indifferent, being esteemed useful or pious, became customary, and then came for reverence into a putative and usurped authority: but they who, having this warning from the very persons whence the mistake comes, will yet swallow the hook, deserve to live upon air and fancy, and to chew deceit.

But this topic of pretended tradition is the most fallible thing in the world; for it is discovered of some things, that are called apostolical tradition, that they had their original of being so esteemed upon the authority and reputation of one man. Some, I say, have been so discovered. Papias was the author of the millenary opinion, which prevailed for about three whole ages; and that so universally, that Justin Martyr said it was believed by all that were perfectly orthodox; and yet it recurs to him only as the fountain of the tradition. But of this I shall say no more, because this instance hath been by others examined and cleared. The assumption of the Virgin Mary is esteemed a tradition apostolical, but it can derive no higher than St. Austin[a], whose doctrine alone brought into the church the veneration of the assumption; which St. Jerome yet durst not be confident of. But the tradition[b] of keeping Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, derived only from St. John and the Asiatic bishops: but the other from St. Peter and St. Paul prevailed, though it had no greater authority. But the communicating of infants prevailed for many ages in the west, and to this day in the east, and went for an apostolical tradition; but the fortune of it is changed, and it now passes for an error:

[z] Lib. de Coronâ Militis. Si legem nusquam reperio, sequitur ut traditio consuetudini morem hunc dederit, habiturum quandoque apostoli autoritatem ex interpretatione rationis.

[a] In Serm. de Assumptione.

[b] Salmasius. Tract. 51. in Rom. 5. p. 468. in marg.

and St. Jerome[c] said, 'It was an apostolical tradition, that a priest should never baptise without chrism;' but of this we have scarce any testimony but his own.

But besides this, there was in the beginning of Christianity some apocryphal books: of these, Origen[d] gave great caution; and because the falsity of these every good man could not discover, therefore he charges them, that they should offer to prove no opinion from any books, but from the canonical Scriptures, as I have already quoted him; but these were very busy in reporting traditions. The book of Hermas seduced St. Clemens of Alexandria into a belief, that the apostles preached to them that died infidels, and then raised them to life: and the apocryphal books, under the title of Peter and Paul, make him believe that the Greeks were saved by their philosophy: and the Gospel of Nicodemus, so far as yet appears, was author of the pretended tradition of the signing with the sign of the cross, at every motion of the body; and led Tertullian, and St. Basil, and, in consequence, the churches of succeeding ages, into the practice of it. A little thing will draw on a willing mind; and nothing is so credulous as piety and timorous religion; and nothing was more fearful to displease God, and curious to please him, than the primitive Christians; and every thing that would invite them to what they thought pious, was sure to prevail; and how many such pretences might enter in at this wide door, every man can easily observe.

Add to this, that the world is not agreed about the competency of the testimony; or what is sufficient to prove tradition to be apostolical. Some require and allow only the testimony of the present catholic church, to prove a tradition: which way, if it were sufficient, then it is certain, that many things which the primitive fathers and churches esteemed tradition, would be found not to be such; because, as appears in divers instances above reckoned, they admitted many traditions which the present church rejects. 2. If this were the way, then truth were as variable as time; and there could be no degrees of credibility in testimony, but still the present were to carry it; that is, every age were to believe themselves, and no body else. And the reason of

[c] S. Hierom. dial. adv. Lucifer. [d] Tract. 26. in Matt.

these things is this, because some things have in some ages been universally received, in others universally rejected. I instance in the state of saints departed, which once was the opinion of some whole ages; and now we know in what ages it is esteemed an error. 3. The communicating infants, before instanced in, was the practice of the church for six hundred years together. Now all that while, there was no apostolical tradition against this doctrine and practice, or at least none known*: for, if there had, these ages would not have admitted this doctrine: but if there were no tradition against it at that time, there is none now. And, indeed, the testimony of the present church cannot be useful in the question of tradition, if ever there was any age or number of orthodox and learned men, that were against it: only in a negative way it can be pretended; that is, if there was no doctrine, or practice, or report ever to the contrary, then they that have a mind to it, may suppose, or hope, it was apostolical; or at least, they cannot be sure that it was not. But this way can never be useful in the questions of Christendom, because in them there is father against son, and son against father; Greeks against Latins: and their minds differ as far as east and west; and therefore it cannot be in our late questions, that there was never any thing said to the contrary; but if there was, then the testimony of the present church is not sufficient to prove the tradition to be catholic and apostolic. 4. If the testimony of the present church were a sure record of tradition apostolical, then it is because the present church is infallible; but for that, there is neither Scripture nor tradition: or, if there were for its infallibility in matter of faith, yet there is none for its infallibility in matter of fact; and such is the tradition: concerning which the question only is, whether such a thing was actually taught by an apostle, and transmitted down by the hand of uninterrupted succession of sees and churches? "Antiquissimum quodque, verissimum." We know the fountains were pure; and the current, by how much the nearer it is to the spring, is the less likely to be corrupted. And, therefore, it is a beginning at the wrong end, to say, the present church

* Maldonat. in 6 Joh. 53. Vide etiam Espencæum de Adorat. Eucharist. lib. ii. c. 12.

believes this, therefore so did the primitive: but let it be shown that the primitive did believe this; for else it is outfacing of an opponent; as if he ought to be ashamed to question whether you have done well, or no. For, if that question may be asked, it must be submitted to trial, and it must be answered; and the holding the opinion, will not justify the holding it; that must be done by something else: therefore, the sampler and the sampled must be compared together; and it will be an ill excuse, if a servant, who delivers a spotted garment to his Lord, and tells him, "Thus it was delivered to me, for thus you see it now." If he can prove it was so at first, he may be justified, but else at no hand. And I and all the world will be strangely to seek what the church of Rome means, by making conformity to the primitive church, a note of the true church; if 'being now as it is' be the rule for what it ought to be: for if so, then well may we examine the primitive church by the present, but not the present by the primitive. 5. If the present catholic church were infallible, yet we were not much the nearer, unless this catholic church could be consulted with, and heard to speak; nor then neither, unless we know which were indeed the catholic church. There is no word in Scripture, that the testimony of the present church is the infallible way of proving the unwritten word of God; and there is no tradition that it is so, that I ever yet heard of; and it is impossible it should be so, because the present church of several ages has had contrary traditions: and if neither be, why shall we believe it? if there be, let it be shown. In the mean time, it is something strange, that the infallibility of a church should be brought to prove every particular tradition; and yet itself be one of those particular traditions which proves itself.

But there is a better way: Vincentius Lirinensis's way, of judging a traditional doctrine to be apostolical and Divine, is, 'the consent of all churches, and all ages.' It is something less than St. Austin[f] requires, "ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurimùm sequatur (autoritatem), inter quas sane illæ sunt, quæ apostolicas sedes habere, et epistolas accipere meruerunt." He speaks it of the particular of judging what books are canonical; in which, as tradition is

[f] Lib. de Doct. Christiana, c. 8.

the way to judge, so the rule of tradition is 'the consent of most of the catholic churches; particularly, those places where the apostles did sit, and to which the apostles did write.' But this fancy of St. Austin is to be understood so, as not to be measured by the practice, but by the doctrine of the apostolical churches. For that any, or more of these churches did, or did not do so, is no argument, that such a custom came from the apostles; or if it did, that it did oblige succeeding ages: unless this custom began by a doctrine, and that the tradition came from the apostles, with a declaration of its perpetual obligation. And therefore this is only of use in matters of necessary doctrine. But because there are, in this question, many differing degrees of authority; he says that our assent is to be given accordingly: "Those which are received of all the catholic churches, are to be preferred before those which are not received by all; and of these, those are to be preferred, which have the more and the graver testimony: but if it should happen, which yet is not, that some are witnessed by the more, and others by the graver, let the assent be equal."—This, indeed, is a good way to know nothing; for if one apostolical church differ from another in a doctrinal tradition, no man can tell whom to follow, for they are of equal authority; and nothing can be thence proved, but that oral tradition is an uncertain way of conveying a doctrine. But yet this way of St. Austin is of great and approved use, in the knowing what books are canonical; and in these things it can be had, in some more, in some less, in all more than can be said against it: and there is nothing in succeeding times, to give a check to our assent in their degrees, because the longer the succession runs, still the more the church was established in it. But yet concerning those books of Scripture, of which it was long doubted in the church, whether they were part of the apostolical canon of Scripture; there ought to be no pretence, that they were delivered for such by the apostles, at least not by those churches, who doubted of them: unless they will confess, that either their churches were not founded by an apostle; or that the apostle, who founded them, was not faithful in his office, in transmitting all that was necessary; or else that those books, particularly the epistle to the Hebrews, &c. were no necessary part of the canon of Scrip-

ture; or else, lastly, that that church was no faithful keeper of the tradition which came from the apostle. All which things, because they will be denied by the church of Rome concerning themselves, the consequent will be, that tradition is an uncertain thing; and, if it cannot be entire and full in assigning the canon of Scripture, it is hardly to be trusted for any thing else which consists of words subject to divers interpretations. But in other things, it may be, the case is not so: for we find that in divers particulars, to prove a point to be a tradition apostolical, use is made of the testimony of the three first ages. Indeed, these are the likeliest to know; but yet they have told us of some things to be traditions, which we have no reason to believe to be such. Only thus far they are useful; if they never reported a doctrine, it is the less likely to descend from the apostles; and if the order of succession be broken any where, the succeeding ages can never be surer. If they speak against a doctrine, as for example, against the half-communion, we are sure, it was no tradition apostolical; if they speak not at all of it, we can never prove the tradition; for it may have come in since that time, and yet come to be thought or called 'tradition apostolical' from other causes, of which I have given account. And, indeed, there is no security sufficient, but that which can never be had; and that is, the universal positive testimony of all the church of Christ; which he that looks for in the disputed traditions, pretended by the church of Rome, may look as long as the Jews do for their wrong Messias. So much as this is, can never be had; and less than this will never do it. I will give one considerable instance of this affair: "The patrons of the opinion of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin-mother, allege, that they have the consent of almost the universal church, and the agreeing sentences of all universities, especially of the chief, that is, of Paris; where no man is admitted to be master in theology, unless he binds himself by oath to maintain that doctrine. They allege, that since this question began to be disputed, almost all the masters in theology, all the preachers of the word of God, all kings and princes, republics and peoples, all popes and pastors, and religions, except a part of one, consent in this doctrine. They say, that of those authors, which are by the other side pretended

against it, some are falsely cited, others are wrested and brought in against their wills; some are scarce worth the remembering, and are of an obsolete and worn-out authority." Now if these men say true, then they prove a tradition, or else nothing will prove it but a consent absolutely universal, which is not to be had. For, on the other side; "They that speak against the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, particularly cardinal Cajetan, bring, as he says, the irrefragable testimony of fifteen fathers against it: others bring no less than two hundred; and Bandellus brings in almost three hundred:" and that will go a great way to prove a tradition. But that this also is not sufficient, see what the other side say to this. "They say, that Scotus, and Holcot, and Ubertinus de Casalis, and the old definition of the university of Paris, and St. Ambrose, and St. Austin, are brought in falsely or violently; and if they were not, yet they say, it is an illiteral disputation, and not far from sophistry, to proceed in this way of arguing: for it happens sometimes that a multitude of opiners proceed only from one famous doctor; and that when the Donatists did glory in the multitude of authors, St. Austin answered, that it was a sign the cause wanted truth, when it endeavoured to rely alone upon the authority of many: and that it was not fit to relate the sentiment of St. Bernard, Bonaventure, Thomas, and other devotees of the blessed Virgin, as if they were most likely to know her privileges, and therefore would not have denied this of the immaculate conception, if it had been her due. For she hath many devout servants the world knows not of: and Elisha, though he had the spirit of Elias doubled upon him, yet said, 'Dominus celavit à me, et non indicavit mihi;' and when Elias complained he was left alone, God said he had seven thousand more. And the apostles did not know all things; and St. Peter walked not according to the truth of the Gospel; and St. Cyprian erred in the point of rebaptizing heretics. For God hath not given all things unto all persons, that every age may have proper truths of its own, which the former age knew not."—Thus Salmeron[s] discourses, and this is the way of many others more eminent; who make use of authority and antiquity

[s] Salmeron. disp. 51. in Rom. v.

when it serves their turn; and when it does not, it is of no use, and of no value.

But if these things be thus, then how shall tradition be proved? If the little remnant of the Dominican party, which are against the immaculate conception, should chance to be brought off from their opinion (as, if the rest of the other orders, and many of this be already, it is no hard thing to conjecture, that the rest may), and that the whole church, as they will then call it, be of one mind, shall it then be reasonable to conclude, that then this doctrine was and is an apostolical tradition; when, as yet, we know and dare say, it is not? That is the case, and that is the new doctrine: but how impossible it is to be true, and how little reason there is in it, is now too apparent. I see that vowing to saints is now at Rome accounted an apostolical doctrine: but with what confidence can any Jesuit tell me that it is so, when by the confession of their chief parties it came in later than the fountains of apostolical doctrines? "When the Scriptures were written, the use of vowing to saints was not begun," saith Bellarmine[h]; and cardinal Perron[i] confesses, that in the authors more near to the apostolical age, no footsteps of this custom can be found. Where then is the tradition apostolical? or can the affirmation of the present church make it so? To make a new thing is easy, but no man can make an old thing.

The consequence of these things is this: all the doctrines of faith and good life are contained and expressed in the plain places of Scripture; and besides it, there are and there can be no articles of faith: and, therefore, they who introduce other articles, and upon other principles, introduce a faith unknown to the apostles and the fathers of the church. And that the church of Rome does this, I shall manifest in the following discourses.

[h] De Cultu Sanct. lib. iii. c. 9. Sect. Præterea.
[i] Contre le Roi Jacques.

SECTION IV.

There is nothing of necessity to be believed, which the apostolical Churches did not believe.

In the first part of 'the Dissuasive,' it was said, that the two testaments are the fountains of faith; and whatsoever (viz. as belonging to the faith,) came in after these, 'foris est,' 'is to be cast out;' it belongs not to Christ: and now, I suppose, what was then said is fully verified. And the church of Rome, obtruding many propositions upon the belief of the church, which are not in Scripture, and of which they can never show any universal or apostolical tradition, urging those upon pain of damnation, imposing an absolute necessity of believing such points, which were either denied by the primitive church, or were counted but indifferent, and matters of opinion, hath disordered the Christian religion, and made it to-day a new thing, and unlike the great and glorious founder of it, who "is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." The charge here then is double: they have made new necessities, and they have made new articles.

I choose to speak first of their tyrannical manner of imposing their articles; viz. every thing under pain of damnation: the other of the new matter, is the subject of the following sections.

First then, I allege that the primitive church, being taught by Scripture and the examples apostolical, affirmed but few things to be necessary to salvation. They believed the whole Scriptures; every thing they had learned there, they equally believed: but because every thing was not of equal necessity to be believed, they did not equally learn and teach all that was in Scripture. But the apostles, say some,—others say, that immediately after them the church,—did agree upon a creed, a symbol of articles which were, in the whole, the foundation of faith, the ground of the Christian hope; and that, upon which charity, or good life, was to be built. There were in Scripture many creeds; the Gentiles' creed, Martha's creed, the Eunuch's creed, St. Peter's creed, St. Paul's creed; "to believe that God is, and that he is the

rewarder of them that seek him diligently[a];" "to believe[b] that Jesus Christ is the Son of the living God," that "Jesus is come in the flesh[c];" that he "rose again from the dead;" these confessions were the occasions of admirable effects; by the first the Gentiles come to God; by the following, blessedness is declared, salvation is promised to him that believes; and to him that confesses this, "God will come and dwell in him, and he shall dwell in God;" and this "belief is the end of writing the Gospel," as, having life through Christ, is the end of this belief: and all this is more fully explicated by St. Paul's creed; "This is the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved[d]." This is "the word of faith;" which if we confess with our mouths, and entertain and believe in our heart; that is, do live according to it, we shall certainly be saved. If we acknowledge Christ to be our Lord, that is, our lawgiver, and our Saviour, to rescue us from our sins and their just consequents, we have all faith; and nothing else can be the foundation, but such articles which are the confession of those two truths, Christ Jesus 'our Lord,' Christ Jesus 'our Saviour;' that by faith we be brought unto obedience and love; and by this love we be brought to Christ, and by Christ unto God; this is the whole complexion of the Christian faith, the economy of our salvation. There are many other doctrines of Christianity of admirable use, and fitted to great purposes of knowledge and government; but "the word of faith" (as St. Paul[e] calls it), that which the apostles preached, viz. to all, and as of particular remark, and universal efficacy, and absolute sufficiency to salvation, is that which is described by himself in those few words now quoted; "Other foundation than this, no man can lay, that is, Jesus Christ[f]." Every thing else is but a superstructure; and though it may, if it be good, be of advantage; yet if it be amiss, so the foundation be kept, it will only be matter of loss and detriment,

[a] Matt. xvi. 16. [b] Heb. xi. 6.
[c] 1 John, iv. 2. & 15. John, xx. 31. & xi. 27.
[d] Rom. x. 8. Matt. x. 32. Marc. viii. 38. Luc. ix. 26. & xii. 8. 2 Tim. ii. 12. Apocal. iii. 5.
[e] Rom. x. 8. [f] 1 Cor. iii. 11.

but consistent with salvation. And therefore St. Paul[a] judged, that he would "know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified." And this is the sum total of all;—this is the Gospel:—so St. Paul[e] most fully; "I declare unto you the Gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand, by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I have preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain:" and what is this Gospel, this word 'preached and received,' that 'by which ye stand,' and that 'by which we are saved?' It is nothing but this, "I delivered unto you first of all that which I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures."—This was the 'traditum,' the 'depositum,' this was the 'evangelium;' Christ died: "he died for our sins, and he rose again for us;" and this being the great tradition by which they tried the spirits, yet it was laid up in Scriptures. That Christ died, was according to the Scriptures; that he rose again, was according to the Scriptures; and that St. Paul twice, and that so immediately, remarks this, is not without mystery; but it can imply to us nothing but this, that our whole faith is laid up in the Scriptures; and this faith is perfected, as to the essentiality of it, in the death and resurrection of Christ; as being the whole economy of our pardon and justification. And it is yet further remarkable, that when St. Paul, as he often does, renews and repeats this Christian creed; he calls upon us not to be wise[b] above what is written; and to be wise unto sobriety. Which he afterwards expounding, says; "He that prophesies, let him do it according to the proportion of faith;" that is, if he will enlarge himself he may, and prophesy greatly; but still to keep himself to the analogy of faith; not to go beyond that, not to be wiser than that measure of sobriety. And if we observe the three sermons of St. Peter, the sermon of St. Philip and St. Silas, the sermons of St. Paul often preached in the synagogues; they were all but this[k]: that 'Jesus Christ is the Son of God;' that 'he is the Lord of

[a] 1 Cor. ii. 2.
[b] 1 Cor. iv. 6. Rom. xii. 3.
[e] 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.
[i] Rom. xii. 6.
[k] Acts, ii. 24. & iii. 12. Acts, viii. 12, 37, 38. Acts, ix. 20. & xvii. 2. & xvi. 31. & xvii. 2, 18, 20, 31.

all;' that 'he is the Christ of God,' that 'God anointed him,' that 'he was crucified, and raised again from the dead;' and that 'repentance and remission of sins was to be preached in his name.'

But as the spirit of God did purpose for ever with strictness to retain the simplicity of faith, so also he was pleased so far to descant upon the plain ground, as to make the mystery of godliness to be clearly understood by all men. And, therefore, that we might see it necessary to believe in Jesus, it was necessary we should understand he was a person to be relied upon, that he was infinitely credible, powerful, and wise, just, and holy; and that we might perceive it necessary and profitable to obey him, it was fit we understood why; that is, what good would follow him that is obedient, and what evil to the refractory. This was all; and this, indeed, was the necessary appendage of the simple and pure word of faith; and this the apostles drew into a symbol, and particular minute of articles. Now, although the first was sufficient; yet, they,—knowing it was fit we should understand this simplicity, with the investiture of some circumstances; and yet, knowing that it was not fit the simplicity of faith should be troubled with new matter,—were pleased to draw the whole into a scheme, sufficient and intelligible, but nothing perplexed, nothing impertinent; and this the church hath called the apostles' creed; which contains all that which is necessary to be inquired after, and believed by a universal and prime necessity. . . . . .

True it is, other things may become necessary, by accident, and collateral obligations; and if we come to know what God, in the abundance of his wisdom and goodness, hath spoken to mankind, we are bound to believe it: but the case is different. Many things may be necessary to be believed, that we may acknowledge God's veracity; and so also many things are necessary to be done, in obedience to the empire and dictates of the conscience, which oftentimes hath authority, when she hath no reason; and is a peremptory judge, when she is no wise counsellor. But though these things are true, yet nothing is a necessary article of faith, but that which ministers, necessarily, to the great designs of the gospel, that is, a life conformable to God, a God-like life, and an imitation of the Holy Jesus.

To believe, and to have faith in the evangelical sense, are things very different. Every man is bound to have faith in all the proper objects of it. But only some men are bound to believe truths, which are not matters of faith. This obliges upon supposition of a manifest discovery, which may, or may not happen; but in the other case we are bound to inquire; and all of us must be instructed, and every man must assent: and without this we cannot be Christ's disciples; we are rebels, if we oppose the other, and no good man can or does.

For if he be satisfied, that it is the word and mind of God, he must and will believe it; he cannot choose; and if he will not confess it, when he thinks God bids him, or if he opposes it when he thinks God speaks it, he is malicious and a villain; but if he does not believe God said it, then he must answer for more than he knows, or than he ought to believe, that is, the articles of faith: but we are not subjects or children, unless we consent to these. The other cannot come into the common accounts of mankind, but as a man may become a law unto himself, by a confident, an unnecessary, and even a false persuasion (because, even an erring conscience can bind), so much more can God become a law unto us, when we, by any accident, come into the knowledge of any revelation from God: but these are not the Christian faith, in the strict and proper sense; that is, these are not the foundation of our religion; many a man is a good Christian without them, and goes to heaven, though he know nothing of them; but without these, no Christian can be saved.

Now, then, the apostles, the founders of Christianity, knowing the nature, design, efficacy, and purpose of the articles of faith, selected such propositions, which in conjunction did integrate our faith, and were therefore necessary to be believed unto salvation; not because these articles were, for themselves, commanded to be believed; but because, without the belief of them, we could not obtain the purposes and designs of faith; that is, we could not be enabled to serve God, to destroy the whole body of sin, to be partakers of the divine nature. This collect or symbol of propositions is that which we call the apostles' creed, which I shall endeavour to prove, to have been always in the primitive church, esteemed a full and perfect digest of all the necessary

and fundamental articles of Christian religion: and that beyond this, the Christian faith, or the foundation, was not to be extended; but this, as it was in the whole complexion necessary, so it was sufficient for all men unto salvation.

St. Paul gave us the first formal intimation of this measure, in his advices to St. Timothy[l]: "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us." This was the 'depositum,' that St. Paul left with Timothy; the 'hypotyposis' or summary of Christian belief, the Christian creed, which St. Paul opposes to the "profane new talkings," and the "disputations" of pretended learning[m]; meaning, that this symbol of faith is the thing on which all Christians are to rely, and this is the measure of their faith; other things, it is odds, but they are babblings, and profane quarreling, and unedifying argumentations. St. Ignatius recites the substance of this creed, in four of the epistles usually attributed to him[n], some of which are witnessed by Eusebius and St. Jerome; and adds, at the end of it, this epiphonema; "Hæc qui planè cognôrit et crediderit, beatus est." And St. Irenæus[o], reciting the same creed, or form of words, differing only in order of placing them, but justly the same articles and foundation of faith, affirms that this is "the faith which the Catholic church, to the very ends of the earth, hath received from the apostles and their disciples." And this is that tradition apostolical, of which the churches of old did so much glory, and to which, with so much confidence they appealed, and by which they provoked the heretics to trial. "This preaching[p], and this faith, when the church scattered over the face of the world had received, she keeps diligently, as dwelling in one house; and believes, as having one soul and one heart; and preaches and teaches, and dèlivers these things, as possessing one mouth. For, although there are divers speeches in the world, yet the force of the tradition is one and the same. Neither do the churches founded in Germany

[l] 2 Tim. i. 13. [m] 1 Tim. vi. 20.

[n] Epist. iii. ad Magnes. et v. ad Philipp. et vii. ad Smyrnens. et xi. ad Ephesios.

[o] S. Irenæus, lib. i. cap. 2. [p] Et cap. 3.

believe otherwise, 'aut aliter tradunt,' 'or have any other tradition;' nor the Iberian churches, or those among the Celtæ, nor the churches in the east, in Egypt, or in Libya, nor those which are in the midst of the world." But he adds, that this is not only for the ignorant, the idiots or catechumeni; but "neither he who is most eloquent among the bishops, can say any other things than these; for no man is above his master: neither hath he that is the lowest in speaking, lessened the tradition; for the faith is one and the same: he that can speak much, can speak no more; and he that speaks little, says no less." This creed also he recites again, affirming, that even those nations, who had not yet received the books of the apostles and evangelists, yet by this confession and this creed did 'please God, and were most wise through faith[q];' for this is that which he calls, the "tradition of the truth;" that is, of that truth which the apostles taught the church; and by the actual retention of which truth it is, that the church is rightly called, "the pillar and ground of truth," by St. Paul; and in relation to this, St. Irenæus reckoned it to be all one[r]; "extra veritatem, id est, extra ecclesiam." Upon this collect of truths the church was founded, and upon this it was built up; and in this, all the apostolical churches did hope for life eternal; and by this they opposed all schisms and heresies; as knowing what their and our great Master himself said in his last sermon, "This is life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ[s] whom thou hast sent."

This, also, is most largely taught by Tertullian[t], who, when he had recited the apostolical creed, in the words and form the church then used it, calls it the "Rule of faith;" he affirms "this rule to have been instituted by Christ;" he affirms, that "it admits of no questions; and hath none but those which the heresies brought in, and which indeed make heretics." "But this form remaining in its order, you may seek and handle, and pour out all the desires of curiosity, if any thing seems ambiguous or obscure, in case any brother be a doctor endued with the grace of knowledge; but be curious with yourself, and seek with yourself: but

[q] Lib. iii. cap. 4. Propter fidem per quam sapientissimi sunt.
[r] Lib. iv. cap. 62.
[s] John, xvii. 3.
[t] Tertul. de præscript. adv. hæret. c. 13 et 14.

at length, it is better for you to be ignorant, lest you come to know what ye ought not; for you already know what ye ought. Faith consists in the rule. To know nothing beyond this, is to know all things." To the same purpose he affirms[y], that "this rule is unalterable, is immovable, and irreformable; it is the rule of faith, and it is one, unchangeably the same:" which, when he had said, he again recites the apostles' creed; he calls it "legem fidei:" "this law of faith remaining; in other things of discipline and conversation, the grace of God may thrust us forward, and they may be corrected and renewed." But the faith cannot be altered, there is neither more nor less in that. And it is of great remark what account Tertullian gives of the state of all the catholic churches[z], and particularly of the church of Rome in his time. "That church is in a happy state, into which the apostles, with their blood, poured forth all their doctrine: let us see what she said, what she taught, what she published in conjunction with the African churches: she knows one God, the Creator of the world; and Jesus Christ of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God the Creator; and the resurrection of the flesh: she mingles the law and the prophets, with the evangelical and apostolical writings, and from thence she drinks that faith: she signs with water, she clothes with the Holy Spirit, she feeds with the Eucharist, she exhorts to martyrdom, and against this institution receives none." This, indeed, was a happy state; and if in this she would abide, her happiness had been as unalterable as her faith. But from this, how much she hath degenerated, will too much appear in the order of this discourse.

In the confession of this creed, the church of God baptized all her catechumens; to whom, in the profession of that faith, they consigned all the promises of the Gospel. For the truth of God, the faith of Jesus Christ, the belief of a Christian is the purest, simplest thing in the world. "In simplicitate fides est, in fide justitia est, in confessione pietas est: Nec Deus nos ad beatam vitam per difficiles quæstiones vocat, nec multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere sollicitat; in absoluto nobis ac facili est æternitas. Jesum Christum

[y] Lib. de veland. Virg. c. 1. Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis.

[z] De præscript. c. 36.

credimus suscitatum à mortuis per Deum, et ipsum esse Dominum confitemur." This is the breviary of the Christian creed; and this is the way of salvation, saith St. Hilary[y]. But speaking more explicitly to the churches of France and Germany[z]; he calls them happy and glorious; "Qui perfectam atque apostolicam fidem conscientiâ et professione Dei retinentes, conscriptas fides huc usque nescitis;" because they kept the apostolical belief; for, that is 'perfect.'

Thus, the church remaining in the purity and innocent simplicity of the faith, there was no way of confuting heretics but by the words of Scripture, or by appealing to the tradition of this faith, in the apostolical form; and there was no change made till the time of the Nicene council: but then, it is said, that the first simplicity began to fall away, and some new thing to be introduced into the Christian creed. True it is, that then Christianity was in one complexion with the empire; and the division of hearts, by a different opinion, was likely to have influence upon the public peace, if it were not composed by peaceable consent, or prevailing authority; and, therefore, the fathers there assembled, together with the emperor's power, did give such a period to their question as they could; but as yet it is not certain, that they, at their meeting, recited any other creed than the apostolical; for that they did not, Laurentius Valla[a], a canon in the Lateran church, affirms, that himself hath read in the ancient books of Isidore, who collected the canons of the ancient councils. Certain it is, the fathers believed it to be no other than the apostolical faith; and the few words they added to the old form, was nothing new, but a few more explicate words, of the same sense, intended by the apostles and their successors; as at that time the church did remember by the successive preachings, and written records which they had, and we have not; but especially by Scripture. But the change was so little, or, indeed, so none as to the matter, that they affirmed of it; "This was the creed delivered by the holy apostles[b];" and in the old Latin missal, published at Strasburgh, A. D. 1557, after the recitation of the Nicene creed, as we usually call it, it is added in the

[y] S. Hilar. lib. x. De Trinit. vers. finem.
[z] In Antidoto ad Nicolaum V. Papam.
[a] Lib. de Synodis.
[b] Epiphan. in Ἀγκυρ.

rubrick, " Finito symbolo apostolorum, dicat sacerdos, ' Dominus vobiscum.'" So that it should seem the Nicene fathers used no other creed, than what themselves thought to be the apostolical. And this is the more credible, because we find that some other copies of the apostles' creed, particularly that which was used in the church of Aquileia, hath divers words and amplifications of some one article; as, to the article of ' God the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth,' is added ' invisible' and ' impassible:' which, though the words were set down there, because of the Sabellian heresy,—yet they said nothing new, but what to every man of reason was included in the very nature of God; and so was the addition of Nice, concerning the Divinity of the Son of God, included in the very natural filiation expressed in the apostles' creed; and, therefore, this Nicene creed was no more a new creed than was that of Aquileia; which although it was not, in every word, like the Roman symbol, yet it was no other than the apostolical. And the same is the case even of those symbols, where something was omitted that was sufficiently in the bowels of the other articles; thus, in some creeds, Christ's death is omitted; but his crucifixion and burial are set down. The same variety also is observable in the article of Christ's descent into hell; which, as it is omitted in that form of the apostolical creed, which I am now saying was used by the Nicene fathers, so was it omitted in the six several recitations and expositions of it, made by Chrysologus, and in the five expositions made of it by St. Austin, in his book ' De Fide et Symbolo,' and in his four books ' De Symbolo ad Catechumenos,' and divers others. So the article of ' the communion of saints,' which is neither in the Nicene nor Constantinopolitan creed, nor in the ancient apostolical creeds, expounded by Marcellus, Ruffinus, Chrysologus, Maximus Taurinensis, Venantius, Fortunatus, Etherius, and Beatus[c]: yet, because it is so plain in the article of the church,—as, the omission is no prejudice to the integrity of the Christian faith, so the inserting it is no addition of an article, or innovation. So these copies now reckoned omit, in the beginning of the creed, ' Maker of heaven and earth;' but out of the Constantinopolitan creed,

[c] Contr. Elipand. Tolet. lib. i.

it is now inserted into all the copies of the apostolical symbol. Now as these omissions or additions respectively, that is, this variety, is no prejudice to these being the apostles' creed; so neither is the addition made at Nice, any other but a setting down what was plainly included in the filiation of the Son of God; and, therefore, was no addition of an article, nor properly an explication, but a saying, in more words, what the apostles and the apostolical churches did mean in all the copies, and what was delivered before that convention at Nice. But there was ill use made of it; and wise men, if they had pleased, might easily have foreseen it. But whether it was so or no, (for I can no otherwise affirm it than as I have said), yet to add any new thing to the creed, or to appoint a new creed, was, at that time, so strange a thing, so unknown to the church, that though what they did, was done with pious intention, and great advantage in the article itself; yet it did not produce that effect, which, from such a concurrence of sentiments, might have been expected. For, first, even some of the fathers then present refused to subscribe to the additions; some did it, as they said, against their will, some were afraid to use the word ὁμοούσιος, or 'consubstantial;' and most men were still so unsatisfied, that presently after, council upon council was again called, at Sirmium, Ariminum, Seleucia, Sardis, to appease the new stirs, rising upon the old account; and instead of making things quiet, they quenched the fire with oil: and the principal persons in the Nicene council changed their minds, and gave themselves over to the contrary temptation. Even Hosius himself, who presided at Nice, and confirmed the former decrees at Sardis; yet he left that faith, and, by that desertion, affrighted and shook the fabric[d] of the Christian church, in the article added or explained at Nice. In the same sad condition was Marcellus of Ancyra[e], a great friend of St. Athanasius, and an earnest opposer of Arius; so were the two Photinuses, Eustathius, Elpidius, Heraclides, Hyginus, Sigerius, the president Cyriacus, and the emperor Constantine himself, who, by banishing Athanasius into France, by becoming Arian, and being baptized by an Arian bishop,

[d] Casu Hosii, planè miserabili, catholicus orbis contremuit, concussæque sunt solidissimæ petræ. Baron. A. C. 347. 17. 18.

[e] Vide Epist. Marcellinorum ad Episcopos in Dio-Cesarea exulantes.

'secured the empire to his sons,' as themselves did say, as it is reported by Lucifer Calaritanus[f]: and that he was vehemently suspected by the catholics, is affirmed by Eusebius, Jerome, Ambrose, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates. But Liberius, bishop of Rome, was more than suspected to have become an Arian, as Athanasius himself, St. Jerome, Damasus, and St. Hilary report[g]. So did pope Felix II., and Leo, his successor. It should seem by all this, that the definitions of general councils were not accounted the last determination of truths, or rather, that what propositions general councils say are true, are not, therefore, part of the body of faith, though they be true; or else, that all these persons did go against an established rule of faith and conscience; which if they had done, they might easily have been oppressed, by their adversaries urging the plain authority of the council against them. But, "Neither am I to urge against thee the Nicene council, nor thou the council of Ariminum against me," was the saying of St. Austin; even long after the council of Nice had, by concession, obtained more authority than it had at first. Now the reason of these things can be no other than this; not that the Nicene council was not the best that ever was since the day that a council was held at Jerusalem by all the apostles; but that the councils adding something to the creed of the church, which had been the *αὐθεντία* of the Christian faith for three hundred years together, was so strange a thing, that they would not easily bear that yoke. And that this was the matter, appears by what the fathers of the church, after the council, did complain. "After the Nicene synod, we write nothing but faiths" (viz. new creeds): "while there is contention about words[h], while there is question about novelties, while there is complaint of ambiguities and of authors, while there is contention of parties and difficulty in consenting, and while one is become an anathema to another, scarce any man now is of Christ."—And again: "We decree yearly

[f] Pro S. Athanas. lib. i. apud Baron. A. D. 336. 13.

[g] Idem aiunt Martinus Polonus, Alphonsus de Castro, et Volaterranus.

[h] Dum in verbis pugna est, dum de novitatibus quæstio est, dum de ambiguis, dum de auctoribus querela est; dum de studiis certamen est, dum in consensu difficultas est, dumque alter alteri anathema esse cœpit, prope jam nemo est Christi. S. Hilar.

and monthly faiths of God; we repent when we have decreed them; we defend them that repent, we anathematize them that are defended; we either condemn foreign things in our own, or condemn our own in foreign things; and biting one another, we are devoured of one another." This was the product of leaving the simplicity and perfection of the first rule; by which the church, for so many ages of martyrdom, was preserved and defended, and consummated their religious lives, and their holy baptism of blood, and which they opposed, as a sufficient shield, against all heresies arising in the church.

And yet the Nicene fathers did add no new article, of new matter[1]; but explicated the filiation of Jesus Christ, saying in what sense he was the Son of God; which was, in proper speaking, an interpretation of a word in the apostles' creed: and yet this occasioned such stirs, and gave so little satisfaction at first, and so great disturbances afterward, that St. Hilary[k] called them happy, who neither made, nor knew, nor received, any other symbol besides that most simple creed used in all churches ever since the apostles' days.

However, it pleased the Divine Providence so to conduct the spirits of the catholic prelates, that by their wise and holy adhering to the creed, as explicated at Nice, they procured great authority to the Nicene faith, which was not only the truth, but a truth delivered and confirmed by the most famous and excellent prelates that ever the Christian church could glory in, since the death of the apostles. But yet that the inconvenience might be cut off, which came in upon the occasion of the Nicene addition (for it produced thirty explicative creeds more in a short time, as Marcus Ephesius openly affirmed in the council of Florence); in the council of Ephesus[l], which was the third general, it was forbidden that ever there should be any addition to the Nicene faith: "That it should not be lawful from thence forward, for any one to produce, to write, or to compose any other faith," or creed, "besides that which was defined by the holy fathers, meeting at Nice in the Holy Spirit." Here

[1] Quid unquam aliud ecclesia conciliorum decretis emisa est, nisi ut, quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur. Vincent. Lirin. contr. Hæres. c. 32.

[k] Lib. de Synodis.

[l] Concil. Ephes. can. 7.

the supreme power of the church, a general council, hath declared that it never should be lawful to add any thing to the former confession of faith explicated at Nice; and this canon was renewed in the next general council, that of Chalcedon; "That the faith formerly determined should, at no hand, in no manner, be shaken or moved any more[m]:" meaning, by addition or diminution. There are some so impertinently weak as to expound these canons to mean only the adding any thing contrary to the Nicene faith; which is an answer against reason and experience; for it is not imaginable that any man, admitting the Nicene creed, can, by an addition, intend expressly to contradict it; and if he does not admit and believe it, he would lay that confession aside, and not meddle with it: but if he should design the inserting of a clause that should secretly undermine it, he must suppose all men that see it, to be very fools, not to understand it, or infinitely careless of what they believe and profess: but if it should happen so, then this were a very good reason of the prohibition of any thing whatsoever to be added, lest, secretly and undiscernibly, the first truth be confuted by the new article: and, therefore, it was a wise caution to forbid all additions, lest some may prove to be contrary. And then, secondly, it is against the experience of things; for, first, the canon was made upon the occasion of a creed brought into the council by Charisius: but all creeds thereupon were rejected, and the Nicene adhered to, and commanded to be so for ever. For, as Balsamon[n] observes, there were three things done in this canon; 1. There was an edict made in behalf of the things decreed at Ephesus. 2. In like manner, the holy creed being made in the first synod, this creed was read aloud, and caution was given that no man should make any other creed upon pain of deposition, if he were an ecclesiastic; of excommunication, if he were a laic. 3. The third thing he also thus expresses: "The same thing also is to be done to them, who receive and teach the decrees of Nestorius." So that the creed that Charisius brought in, was rejected, because it was contrary to the Nicene faith; but all symbols were, for ever after, forbidden to be made, not only lest any thing contrary be

[m] The author of the letter, p. 7. [n] In can. 7. Vide Balsam. in eun.

admitted, but because they would admit of no other; and this very reason St. Athanasius[o] assigned, why the fathers of the council of Sardis denied the importunity of some, who would have something added to the Nicene confession; they would not do it, lest the other should seem defective. And next to this, it was carefully observed by the following councils, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, and by itself in a great affair: for, 1. Though this council determined the blessed Virgin Mary to be Θεοτόκος, the 'mother of God,' against Nestorius; yet, 2. The fathers would not put the article into the creed of the church; but esteemed it sufficient to determine the point and condemn Nestorius; and, 3. The Greek church hath ever since most religiously observed this Ephesine canon; and, 4. Upon this account, have vehemently spoken against the Latins, for adding a clause at Chantilly, in France. 5. St. Athanasius[p], speaking of the Nicene faith, or creed, says, "It is sufficient for the destruction of all impiety, and for the confirmation of all the holy faith in Christ;" and, therefore, there could be no necessity for adding any thing to so full, so perfect an instrument; and, consequently, no reasonable cause pretended, why it should be attempted: especially since there had been so many, so intolerable inconveniences already introduced, by adding to the symbols their unnecessary expositions. 6. The purpose of the fathers is fully declared by the epistle of St. Cyril[q], in which he recites the decree of the council, and adds, as a full explication of the council's meaning, "We permit neither ourselves nor others to change one word or syllable of what is there." The case is here, as it was in Scripture, to which no addition is to be made; nothing to be diminished from it. But yet every doctor is permitted to expound, to enlarge the expressions, to deliver the sense, and to declare, as well as they can, the meaning of it. And much more might the doctors of the church do to the creed; to which, although something was added at Nice and Constantinople, yet, from thence forward, they might, in private, or in public, declare what they thought was the meaning, and what were the consequents, and what was virtually con-

[o] Epist. ad Epict. [p] Epist. ad Epict.
[q] Cyril. Alex. ad Johan. Antioch. scss. 5.

tained in the articles; but nothing of this, by any authority whatsoever, was to be put into the creed. For in articles of belief, simplicity is part of its excellency and sacredness; and those mysteriousnesses and life-giving articles, which are fit to be put into creeds, are, as Philistion said of hellebore, medicinal when it is in great pieces, but dangerous or deadly when it is in powder. And I remember what a heathen said of the emperor Constantius, who troubled himself too much in curiosities, and nice arguings about things unintelligible and unnecessary: "Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confudit. In quâ scrutandâ perplexiùs quàm in componendâ graviùs excitavit dissidia, quæ progressa fusiùs; et aluit concertationem verborum dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium." Christian religion is absolute and simple; and they that conduct it, should compose all the parts of it with gravity, not perplex it with curious scrutinies, nor draw away any word or article, to the sense of his own interest. For if it once pass the bounds set by the first masters of the assemblies, and lose that simplicity with which it was invested; there is no term or limit which can be any more set down. "Exempla non consistunt, sed, quamvis in tenuem recepta tramitem, latissimè evagandi sibi faciunt potestatem." The divesting the church from the simplicity of her faith, is like removing the ancient land-mark: you cannot tell by the mark, what country you are in, whether in your own or in the enemy's. And in the world, nothing is more unnecessary. For if that faith be sufficient, if, in that faith, the church went to heaven, if, in that, she preserved unity, and begat children to Christ, and nursed them up to be perfect men in Christ, and kept herself pure from heresy, and unbroken by schism; whatsoever is added to it, is either contained in the article virtually, or it is not. If not, then it is no part of the faith, and, by the laws of faith, there is no obligation passed upon any man to believe it. But if it be, then he that believes the article, does virtually believe all that is virtually contained in it: but no man is to be pressed with the consequents drawn from thence, unless the transcript be drawn by the same hand that wrote the original; for we are sure it came in the simplicity of it, from an infallible Spirit; but he that bids me believe his deductions under pain of

damnation, bids me, under pain of damnation, believe that he is an unerring logician: for which, because God hath given me no command, and himself can give me no security; if I can defend myself from that man's pride, God will defend me from damnation.

But let us see a little further, with what constancy, that, and the following ages of the church, did adhere to the apostles' creed, as the sufficient and perfect rule of faith. There was an imperial edict of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius; "Cunctos populos, quos clementiæ nostræ regit imperium, in eâ volumus religione versari, quam Divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis, religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat; quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret, et Petrum Alexandriæ episcopum, virum apostolicæ sanctitatis: hoc est, ut, secundum apostolicam disciplinam, evangelicamque doctrinam, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti unam deitatem, sub pari majestate, et sub piâ trinitate, credamus. Hanc legem sequentes Christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti: reliquos verò dementes vesanosque judicantes, hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere, divinâ primùm vindictâ, post etiam motu animi nostri, quem ex cœlesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos." Part of this being cited in the 'Dissuasive,' to prove that in the early ages of the church, the Christian faith was much more simple than it is now in the Roman church; and that upon easier terms men might then be catholic: it was replied by some one of the opponents[r], "That by this law was not meant, that all who believed the Trinity were catholics absolutely, but only as to those points:"—and the reason given is this; "Because after this law, the Novatians, Donatists, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. were proceeded against as heretics and schismatics, notwithstanding their belief of the Trinity and unity of the Godhead:" but this thing was spoken, without all care whether it were to the purpose or no. For when this law was made, that was the rule of catholicism (as appears by the words of the law): and if afterward it became altered, and the bishops became too opinionative, or thought themselves forced into further declarations; must, therefore, the precedent law be

[r] The Letter to a Friend, p. 4.

judged 'ex post facto' by what they did afterwards? It might as well have been said; the church was never content with the apostles' creed, because afterwards the Lutherans and Calvinists, and Zuinglians, &c. were proceeded against as heretics and schismatics, notwithstanding their belief of all that is in the apostles' creed. "Ex post facto nunquam crescit præteriti æstimatio," says the law. But for the true understanding of this imperial law, we must know that the confession of the holy Trinity and Unity, was not set down there, as a single article, but as a summary of the apostles' creed; the three parts of which have for their heads the three persons of the holy and undivided Trinity. And this appears by the relation the law makes to the faith St. Peter taught the church of Rome; and to the creed of Damasus, which may be seen in St. Jerome, who rejects the creed of that worthy prelate, in the second tome of his works; in which the apostolical creed is explicated, that what relates to the Trinity and Unity, spoken of in the imperial law, or rule of catholics and Christians, is set down in its full purpose and design: and this thing may better be understood by an instance in the catechism of the church of England; for when the catechumen hath at large recited the apostles' creed, he is taught to sum it up in this manner: "First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me, and all the world: secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me, and all mankind: thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God." This is the summary of the creed; and these things are not to be considered as articles distinct and complete, and integrating the Christian faith, but as a breviary of that faith, to which, in the same place, it is made to relate; just as the imperial law does relate to the faith of Peter, and the creed of Damasus, and Peter of Alexandria: concerning which, he that says much, says no more; and he that says little, says no less; for the faith is the same as I have already cited the words of St. Irenæus. Since then the emperors made the summary of the apostles' creed to be the rule of discerning catholics from heretics; it follows, that the Roman church catholic signifies something else than it did in the primitive church. St. Ambrose says, "Faith is conceived by the apostles' creed;" all faith lies in that, as the child in the mother's

womb; and he compares it to a key, because "by it the darknesses of the devil are unlocked, that the light of Christ might come upon us; and the hidden sins of conscience are opened, that the manifest works of righteousness may shine. This key is to be shown to our brethren, that by this, as scholars of St. Peter, they may shut the gates of hell, and open the doors of heaven." He also calls it, "The seal of our heart, and the sacrament of our warfare."—St. Jerome[s], speaking of it, says, "The symbol of our faith and hope, which was delivered by the apostles, is not written in paper and ink, but in the fleshy tables of our hearts. After the confession of the Trinity, and unity of the church, the whole, or every sacrament of the Christian religion, is concluded with the resurrection of the flesh." Which words are intimated, and in part transcribed by Isidore, of Seville. Ruffinus says, the apostles being to separate, and go to their several charges, appointed, "Normam futuræ prædicationis, regulam dandam credentibus, unanimitatis et fidei suæ indicium;" "The rule of what they were to preach to all the world, the measure for believers, the index of faith and unity;" "Not any speech, not so much as one, even of them that went before them in the faith, was admitted or heard by the church."—"By this creed the foldings of infidelity are loosed; by this, the gate of life is set open; by this, the glory of confession is shown. It is short in words, but great in sacraments. It confirms all men with the perfection of believing, with the desire of confessing, with the confidence of the resurrection. Whatsoever was prefigured in the patriarchs, whatsoever is declared in the Scriptures, whatsoever was foretold in the prophets, of God who was not begotten, of the Son of God, who is the only begotten of God, or the Holy Spirit," &c. "Totum hoc breviter, juxta oraculum propheticum, symbolum in se continet confitendo:" So St. Austin[t]—who also calls it, "The fulness of them that believe."—"It is the rule of faith, the short, the certain rule, which the apostles comprehended in twelve sentences, that the believers might hold the catholic unity, and

[s] Epist. ad Pammach. contra Errores Johan. Hierosolymit. Exposit. Symbol. c. 2, 3, lib. v. Orig. c. 9.

[t] Serm. 131. de tempore, sive Serm. 2. de exposit. Symboli ad Competentes.

convince the heretical pravity. The comprehension and perfection of our faith[u]."—"The short and perfect confession of the catholic symbol is consigned with so many sentences of the twelve apostles, is so furnished with celestial ammunition—that all the opinions of the heretics may be cut off with that sword alone," said pope Leo[x]. I could add many more testimonies declaring the simplicity of the Christian faith, and the fulness and sufficiency of the apostolical creed. But I sum them up in the words of Rabanus Maurus[y]:" "In the apostles' creed there are but few words, but it contains all religion" (omnia in eo continentur sacramenta): "for they were summarily gathered together from the whole Scriptures by the apostles; that because many believers cannot read, or if they can, yet by their secular affairs are hindered that they do not read the Scriptures, retaining these in their hearts they may have enough of saving knowledge."

Now, then, since the whole catholic church of God in the primitive ages, having not only declared that all things necessary to salvation, are sufficiently contained in the plain places of Scripture; but that all, which the apostles knew necessary, they gathered together in a symbol or form of confession, and esteemed the belief of this sufficient unto salvation; and that they required no more 'in credendis,' as of necessity to eternal life, but the simple belief of these articles: these things ought to remain in their own form and order. For, what is, and what is not necessary, is either such by the nature of the articles themselves, or by the economy of God's commandment: and what God did command, and what necessary effect every article had, the apostles only could tell, and others from them. They that pretend to a power of doing so as the apostles did, have shown their want of skill; and by that, confess their want of power of doing that, which to do is beyond their skill. For, which sins are venial, and which are mortal, all the doctors of the church of Rome cannot tell; and how then can they tell this of errors, when they cannot tell it of actions; but if any man will search into the harder things, or any more

[u] Serm. 181. de tempore. Hom. 115.
[x] Epist. 13. ad Pulcher. Augustum.
[y] Lib. ii. de institut. Clericorum, c. 56.

secret sacrament of religion, by that means to raise up his mind to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to a contempt of things below, he may do it if he please, so that he do not impose the belief of his own speculations upon others, or compel them to confess what they know not, and what they cannot find in Scriptures, or did not receive from the apostles. We find by experience, that a long act of parliament, or an indenture and covenant that is of great length, ends none, but causes many contentions; and when many things are defined, and definitions spun out into declarations, men believe less, and know nothing more. And what is man, that he who knows so little of his own body, of the things done privately in his own house, of the nature of the meat he eats; nay, that knows so little of his own heart, and is so great a stranger to the secret courses of nature;—I say, what is man, that in the things of God he should be ashamed to say[z], 'this is a secret; this God only knows; this he hath not revealed; this I admire, but I understand not; I believe, but I understand it to be a mystery?' And cannot a man enjoy the gift which God gives, and do what he commands, but he must dispute the philosophy of the gift, or the metaphysics of a command? Cannot a man eat oysters, unless he wrangle about the number of the senses which that poor animal hath? and will not condited mushrooms be swallowed down, unless you first tell whether they differ specifically from a sponge? Is it not enough for me[a] to believe the words of Christ, saying, 'This is my body?' and cannot I take it thankfully, and believe it heartily, and confess it joyfully; but I must pry into the secret, and examine it by the rules of Aristotle and Porphyry, and find out the nature and the undiscernible philosophy of the manner of its change, and torment my own brains, and distract my heart, and torment my brethren, and lose my charity, and hazard the loss of all the benefits intended to me, by the holy body,—because I break those few words into more questions, than the holy bread is into particles to be eaten? Is it not enough, that I believe, that, 'whether we live or die, we are the Lord's,' in case we serve

[z] S. Athanas. ep. ad Serapion.
[a] S. Basil. de Spir. S. c. 18.

him faithfully? but we must descend into hell, and inquire after the secrets of the dead, and dream of the circumstances of the state of separation, and damn our brethren if they will not allow us and themselves to be half damned in purgatory? Is it not enough that we are Christians? that is, that we put all our hope in God, who freely giveth us all things by his son Jesus Christ; that we are redeemed by his death; that he rose again for our justification; that we are made members of his body in baptism; that he gives us of his Spirit, that being dead to the lusts of this world, we should live according to his doctrine and example; that is, that we do no evil, that we do what good we can; that we love God, and love our brother; that we suffer patiently, and do good things in expectation of better, even of a happy resurrection to eternal life, which he hath promised to us by his Son, and which we shall receive, if we walk in the Spirit, and live in the Spirit? What is wanting to him that does all this,—but that he do so still? Is not this faith unto righteousness, and the confession of this faith, unto salvation? We all believe we shall arise from our graves at the last day; one sort of Christians thinks with one sort of body, and another thinks with another; but these conjectures ought not to be accounted necessary; and we are not concerned to dispute which it is; for we shall never know by all our disputing; but we may lose the good of it, if we make it an argument of uncharitableness. But besides this,

Did not the apostles "desire to know nothing but Christ Jesus, and him crucified," and risen again? and did not they preach this faith to all the world, and did they preach any other; but severely reprove all curious and subtle questions, and all pretences of science or knowledge, falsely so called, when men languished about questions and strife of words? Are we not taught by the apostles, that we ought not to receive our weak brother unto doubtful disputations; and that the servant of God ought not to strive? Did not they say, that all that keep the foundation shall be saved; some with, and some without loss? and that erring brethren are to be tolerated; and that if they be servants of God, and yet, in a matter of doctrine or opinion, "otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this also unto them?" And if these things be thus, why shall one Christian church condemn another,

which is built upon the same foundation with herself? And how can it be imagined, that the servants of God cannot be saved now, as in the days of the apostles? Are we wiser than they? are our doctors more learned, or more faithful? Is there another covenant made with the church since their days? or is God less merciful to us, than he was to them? Or hath he made the way to heaven narrower in the end of the world, than at the beginning of the Christian church? Do men live better lives now, than at the first; so that a holy life is so enlarged, that the foundation of faith laid at first is not broad enough to support the new buildings? We find it much otherwise. And men need not enlarge the articles and conditions of faith in these degenerate ages, wherein, 'when Christ comes, he shall hardly upon earth find any faith' at all: and if there were need, yet no man is able to do it, because 'Christ only is our Lord and Master,' and no man is master of our faith.

But to come closer to the thing. It is certain, there is nothing simply necessary to salvation now, that was not so always; and this must be confessed by all that admit of the so much commended rule of Vincentius Lirinensis; 'That which was always and everywhere believed by all; that is the rule of faith:' and, therefore, there can be no new measure, no new article, no new determination, no declaration, obliging us to believe any proposition that was not always believed. And, therefore, as that which was first is true, that which was at first, and nothing else, is necessary. Nay, suppose many truths to be found out by industry, and by Divine assistances, yet no more can be necessary; because nothing of this could ever be wanting to the church. Therefore, the new discovered truth cannot of itself be necessary: neither can the discovery make it necessary to be believed, unless I find it to be discovered and revealed by him, whose very discovery, though accidental, yet can make it necessary, that is, unless I be convinced that God hath spoken it. Indeed, if that happen, there is no further inquiry. But, because there are no new revelations since the apostles died, whatever comes in after them, is only by man's ratiocination: and, therefore, can never go beyond a probability in itself, and never ought to pretend higher, lest God's incommunicable right be invaded, which is to be the Lord of human under-

standings. The consequent of all this is, there can be nothing of necessity to be believed, which the church of God, taught by the apostles, did not believe necessary.

SECTION V.

That the Church of Rome pretends to a Power of introducing into the Confessions of the Church, new Articles of Faith; and endeavours to alter and suppress the old Catholic Doctrine.

Now then, having established the Christian rule and measure, I shall, in the next place, show how the church of Rome hath usurped an empire over consciences, offering to enlarge the faith, to add new propositions to the belief of Christians; and imposes them under pain of damnation. And this I prove: 1. Because they pretend to a power to do it. 2. They have reason and necessity to do so, in respect of their interest, and they actually do so both in faith and manners. 3. They use indirect and unworthy arts, that they may do it without reproach and discovery. 4. Having done this, they, by enlarging faith, destroy charity.

1. They pretend to a power to do it. The authorities, which were brought in the first part of 'the Dissuasive[a],' did sufficiently prove this; but because they were snarled at, I shall justify and enlarge them, and confirm their sense by others. First, the pope hath authority (as his doctors teach the world) to declare an article of faith, and this is as much as the apostles themselves could do; that is, as the apostles, by gathering the necessary articles of faith, made up a symbol of what things are necessary, and by their imposing this collection on all churches, their baptizing into that faith, their making it a rule of faith to all Christians, did declare, not only the truth, but the necessity of those articles to be learned, and to be believed; so the pope also pretends he can declare. For declaring a thing 'to be true,' and declaring it to be 'an article of faith,' are things of vast difference.

[a] Chap. 1. sect. page 10. edit. Dublin, 1664.

He that declares it only to be true, imposes no necessity of believing it; but if he can make it appear to be true, he, to whom it so appears, cannot but believe it. But if he declares it to be an article of faith, he says, that God hath made it necessary to be known, and to be believed; and if any hath power to declare this, to declare I say, not as a doctor, but as an apostle, as Jesus Christ himself, he is Master and Lord of the conscience. Now that the pope pretends to this, we are fiercely taught by his doctors, and by his laws. Thus the gloss [b] upon the extravagant 'de verborum significatione, cap. cum inter. verb. declaramus,' says, "He being prince of the church, and Christ's vicar, can, in that capacity, make a declaration upon an article of the catholic faith." He can declare it 'authoritativè,' not only as a doctor, but as a prince; by empire and command, as 'princeps ecclesiæ.' The Sorbon can declare as well as he, upon the catholic faith, if it be only matter of skill and learning; but to declare so, as to bind every man to believe it; to declare so, as the article shall be a point of faith, when before this declaration it was not so 'quoad nos;' this is that, which is pretended by declaring: and so this very gloss expounds it; adding to the former words, "The pope can make an article of faith, if an article of faith be taken not properly, but largely, that is, for a doctrine which now we must believe; whereas, before such declaration we were not tied to it."—These are the words of the gloss; the sense of which is this: there are some articles of faith, which are such before the declaration of the church, and some which are, by the church's declaration, made so; some were declared by the Scriptures, or by the apostles; and some by the councils, or popes of Rome: after which declaration, they are both alike, equally necessary to be believed; and this is that which we charge upon them, as a dangerous and intolerable point. For it says plainly, that whereas Christ makes some articles of faith, the pope can make others; for if they were not articles of faith, before the declaration of the pope, then he makes them to be such; and that is truly (according to their own words), 'facere articulum fidei:' 'this is making an article of faith.' Neither will it suffice to say, that this proposition, so declared, was, before

[b] Gloss. ibid.

such a declaration, really and indeed, an article of faith in itself; but not in respect of us. For this is all one in several words. For an article of faith is a relative term; it is a proposition which we are commanded to believe, and to confess; and to say, this is an article of faith, and yet that no man is bound to believe it, is a contradiction. Now, then, let it be considered; no man is bound to believe any article till it be declared; as no man is bound to obey a law, till it be promulgated; faith comes by hearing; till there be hearing, there can be no faith; and, therefore, no article of faith. The truth is eternal, but faith is but temporary, and depends upon the declaration. Now, then, suppose any article; I demand, did Christ and his apostles declare it to the church? If not, how does the pope know it, who pretends to no new revelations? If the apostles did not declare it, how were they faithful in the house of God? and how did St. Paul say truly[e], "I have not failed or ceased," *ἀναγγεῖλαι*, to "declare," to annunciate to you all the whole council of God. But if they did say true, and were faithful, and did declare it all; then was it an article of faith, before the pope's declaration; and then it was a sin of ignorance not to believe it,—and of malice, or pusillanimity not to confess it,—and a worse sin to have contradicted it. And who can suppose that the apostolical churches and their descendants, should be ignorant in any thing that was then a matter of faith? If it was not then, it cannot now be declared that it was so then; for to declare a thing properly, is to publish what it was before; if it was then, there needs no declaration of it now, unless by declaring, we mean preaching it; and then every parish priest is bound to do it, and can do it as well as the pope. If, therefore, they mean more, as it is certain they do,—then, declaring an article of faith, is but the civiller word for making it. Christ's preaching, and the apostles' imposing it, made it an article of faith, in itself, and to us; other declarations, excepting only teaching, preaching, expounding, and exhorting, we know none, and we need none; for they only could do it, and, it is certain, they did it fully.

But I need not argue, and take pains to prove, that by

[e] Acts, xx. 27.

declaring they mean more than mere preaching; themselves own the utmost intention of the charge. The pope can 'statuere artículos fidei;' that is more than declare merely; it must be to appoint, to decree, to determine, that such a thing is, of necessity, to be believed unto salvation: and because Luther[d] said the pope could not do this, he was condemned by a bull of pope Leo. But we may yet further know the meaning of this; for their doctors are plain in affirming, that 'the pope is the foundation, rule and principle of faith.' So Turrecremata[e]: "For to him it belongs to be the measure and rule, and science of things that are to be believed, and of all things which are necessary to the direction of the faithful unto life eternal."—And again, "It is easy to understand that it belongs to the authority of the pope of Rome[f], as to the general and principal master and doctor of the whole world, to determine those things which are of faith; and by consequence to publish a symbol of faith: to interpret the senses of Holy Scriptures: to approve and reprove the sayings of every doctor belonging to faith."—Hence comes it to pass, that "the doctors say, that the apostolical see is called the mistress and mother of faith[g]." And what can this mean; but to do that which the apostles could not do; that is, to be lords over the faith of Christendom? For to declare only an article of faith, is not all they challenge; they can do more. As he is pope, he can not only declare an article of faith, but introduce a new one: and this is that, which I suppose Augustinus Triumphus to mean, when he says[h], "Symbolum novum condere ad papam solum spectat:" and, if that be not plain enough, he adds[i], "As he can make a new creed, or symbol of faith; so he can multiply new articles, one upon another." For the conclusion of this particular, I shall give a very considerable instance, which relies not upon the credit and testimony of their doctors, but is matter of fact, and notorious to all the world[k]. For it will be to no purpose for them to deny

[d] Art. 27. Certum est in manu ecclesiæ aut Papæ prorsus non esse, statuere articulos fidei, &c.

[e] Turrecrem. lib. ii. cap. 107. [f] Idem ibid.

[g] Extravag. de verb. signific. cap. Quia quorundam gloss.

[h] Que. 59. art. 1. [i] Art. 2.

[k] Vide Salmeron. prolog. in comment. in epist. ad Roman. part 3. p. 176. Sect. Tertiò dicitur.

it, and say, that the pope can only declare an article, but not make a new one. For it is plain, that they so declare an old one, that they bring a new one in; they pretend the old creed to be with child of a cushion, and they introduce a supposititious child of their own The instance I mean, is that article of the apostles' creed, "I believe the holy catholic church." The question is made, what is meant by it? They that have a mind to it, understand it easily enough; it was a declaration of the coming of the Messias into the world; the great proof that Jesus of Nazareth was the Shiloh, or he that was to come. For whereas the Jews were the inclosure and peculiar people of God; at the coming of the Messias it should be so no more; but the Gentiles being called, and the sound of the Gospel going into all the world, it was no more the church of the Jews, but 'Ecclesia totius mundi,' 'the church of the universe,' the universal, or catholic church, of Jews and Gentiles, of all people, and all languages. Now this great and glorious mystery, we confess in this article; that is, we confess, that God hath given to his Son 'the heathen for an inheritance, and the utmost parts of the world for a possession;' that "God is no respecter of persons[1], but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." This is the plain sense of the article, and renders the article also highly considerable, and represents it as fundamental; and it is agreeable with the very economy of the gospel, and determines one of the greatest questions that ever were in the world, the dispute between the Jews and Gentiles; and is not only easy and intelligible, but greatly for edification.

Now, then, let us see how the church of Rome, by her head and members, expounds or declares this article, 'I believe the holy catholic church;' so it is in the apostles' creed. 'I believe one holy, catholic, and apostolic church;' so the Nicene creed. Here is no difference, and no commentary,—but the same thing with the addition of one word to the same sense; only it includes also the first founders of this catholic church; as if it had been said, 'I believe that the church of Christ is disseminated over the world, and not limited to the Jewish pale; and that this church was founded by the

[1] Acts, x. 35.

apostles upon the rock Christ Jesus.' But the church of Rome hath handled this article after another manner; she hath explained it so clearly, that no wise man can believe it; she hath declared the article, so as to make it a new one, and made an addition to it that destroys the principle: "Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco:" "I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church the mother and mistress of all churches."—And at the end of this declaration of the creed, it is added as at the end of the Athanasian, 'this is the true catholic faith, without which no man can be saved;' and this is the creed of pope Pius IV. enjoined to be sworn by all ecclesiastics, secular or religious. Now let it be considered, whether this declaration be not a new article, and not only so, but a destruction to the old. 1. The apostolical creed professes to believe the catholic or universal church. The pope limits it, and calls it the catholic Roman church; that, by all he means some, and the universal means but particular. But besides this, 2. It is certain, this must be a piece of a new creed; since it is plain, the apostles did no more intend the Roman church should be comprehended under the catholic church, than as every other church which was then, or should be after. And why Roman should be put in, and not the Ephesine, the Cæsarean, or the Hierosolymitan, it is not to be imagined. 3. This must needs be a new article, because the full sense and mystery of the old article was perfect and complete, before the Roman church was in being. "I believe the holy catholic church," was an article of faith before there was any Roman church at all. 4. The interposing 'the Roman' into the creed, as equal, and of the extent with the catholic, is not only a false, but a malicious addition. For they, having perpetually in their mouths, 'that out of the catholic church there is no salvation;' and now against the truth, simplicity, interest, and design of the apostolical creed, having made the Roman and Catholic to be all one;—they have also established this doctrine as a virtual part of the creed, that out of the communion of the church of Rome there is no salvation to be hoped for; and so by this means damn all the Christians of the world, who are not of their communion; and that is the

far biggest part of the catholic church. 5. How intolerable a thing it is to put the word 'Roman' to expound 'Catholic' in the creed; when it is confessed among themselves[m], that it is not of faith, "that the apostolic church cannot be separated from the Roman;" and Bellarmine proves this[n]; because there is neither Scripture nor tradition that affirms it: and then if ever they be separated, and the apostolic be removed to Constantinople, then the creed must be changed again, and it must run thus: 'I believe the holy catholic and apostolic Constantinopolitan church.' 6. There is, in this declaration of the apostolical creed, a manifest untruth decreed, enjoined, professed, and commanded to be sworn to; and that is, that 'the Roman church is the mother of all churches:' when it is confessed that St. Peter sat bishop at Antioch, seven years before his pretended coming to Rome: and that 'Jerusalem is the mother of all churches[o].' For 'the law went forth out of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem:' and, therefore, the œcumenical council of Constantinople, in the consecration of St. Cyril, said, "We show unto you Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, which is the mother of all other churches." The like is said of the church of Cæsarea (with an exception only of Jerusalem), "quæ prope mater omnium ecclesiarum, et fuit ab initio, et nunc quoque est, et nominatur: quam Christiana respublica, velut centrum suum circulus, undique observat."—How this saying of St. Gregory, the Divine, can consist with the new Roman creed, I leave it to the Roman doctors to consider. In the meantime it is impossible that it should be true, that the Roman church is the mother of all churches, not only because it is not imaginable she could beget her own grandmother; but for another pretty reason, which Bellarmine hath invented[p]; "Though the ancients every where call the Roman church 'the mother of all churches,' and that all bishops had their consecration and dignity from her; yet, this seems not to be true, but in that sense, because Peter was bishop of Rome: he ordained all the apostles and all

[m] Driedo de dogmat. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 3. p. 3.

[n] Lib. iv. de Pontif. Rom. c. 4. sect. At secundum.

[o] Apud Baron. A.D. 382. n. 15. vide etiam S. Basil. tom. ii. ep. 30. et Greg. Theol.

[p] Lib. i. de Rom. Pontif. c. 23. sect. Secunda ratio.

other bishops, by himself, or by others. Otherwise, since all the apostles constituted very many bishops in divers places, if the apostles were not made bishops by Peter, certainly the greatest part of bishops will not deduce their original from Peter." This is Bellarmine's argument, by which he hath perfectly overthrown that clause of Pius IV.'s creed; 'that the Roman church is the mother of all churches.' He confesses she is not, unless St. Peter did consecrate all the apostles: he might have added, no, nor then neither, unless Peter had made the apostles to be bishops, after himself was bishop of Rome; for what is that to the Roman church, if he did this before he was the Roman bishop? But then, that Peter made all the apostles bishops is so ridiculous a dream, that in the world nothing is more unwarrantable. For, besides that St. Paul was consecrated by none but Christ himself, it is certain that he ordained Timothy and Titus, and that the succession in those churches ran from the same original in the same line; and there is no record in Scripture that ever St. Peter ordained any; not any one of the apostles who received their authority from Christ and the Holy Spirit, in the same times altogether; which thing is also affirmed by Azorius[q], and Suarez[r], who also quotes for it the authority of St. Austin[s], and the gloss. So that from first to last, it appears that the Roman church is not the mother church, and yet every priest is sworn to live and die in the belief of it, that she is. However, it is plain, that this 'assumentum' and shred of the Roman creed, is such a declaration of the old article of believing the catholic church, that it is not only a direct new article of faith, but destroys the old.

By thus handling the creed of the Catholic church we shall best understand what they mean, when they affirm that the pope can interpret Scripture 'authoritativè,' and "he can make Scripture."—"Ad quem pertinet sacram Scripturam authoritativè interpretari; ejus enim est interpretari, cujus est condere:" "He that can make Scripture, can make new articles of faith surely."—Much to the same purpose are the

[q] Institut. moral. part. 2. lib. iv. c. 11. sect. Altera opinio.
[r] De tripl. virt. Theolog. disp. 10. sect. 1. n. 5. et 7.
[s] Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. q. 97.

words of pope Innocent IV.[t], "He cannot only interpret the Gospel, but add to it." Indeed, if he have power to expound it 'authoritativè,' that is as good as making it; for by that means he can add to it, or take from the sense of it. But that the pope can do this, that is, can interpret the Scriptures 'authoritativè,' 'sententialitor,' 'obligatoriè,' so as it is not lawful to hold the contrary, is affirmed by Augustinus Triumphus[u], Turrecremata[x], and Hervey[y]. And cardinal Hosius[z] goes beyond this, saying, "That although the words of the Scripture be not open, yet being uttered in the sense of the church, they are the express words of God; but uttered in any other sense, are not the express word of God, but rather of the devil." To these I only add what we are taught by another cardinal[a]; who persuading the Bohemians to accept the sacrament of the Lord's supper in one kind, tells them;—and it is that I said before;—'if the church, viz. of Rome (for that is with them the catholic church) or if the pope, that is, the virtual church, do expound any evangelical sense contrary to what the current sense and practice of the catholic primitive church did; not that, but this present, interpretation must be taken for the way of salvation: for "God changes his judgment, as the church does[b]." So that it is no wonder, that the pope can make new articles, or new Scriptures, or new Gospel; it seems the church of Rome can make contrary Gospel: that if in the primitive church to receive in both kinds was 'via salutis,' because it was understood then to be a precept evangelical; afterwards the way of salvation shall be changed, and the precept evangelical must be understood to take it in one kind. But this is denied by Balduinus[c], who, to the question, 'whether can the pope find out new articles of faith?' says, 'I answer, yes: but not contrary.' It seems the doctors differ upon that point: but that which the cardinal of Cusa, the legate of pope Nicolas V. taught the Bohemians, was, how they should answer their objection: for, they said, if Christ commanded one thing, and the council, or the pope, or the prelates com-

[t] Innocent. IV. in cap. super eo. de Bigamis.
[u] Qu. 67. a. 2. [x] Lib. ii. c. 107. [y] De potestate Papæ.
[z] De expresso Dei verbo et in Epilogo.
[a] Card. Cusan. Epist. 2. ad Bohemos, de usu Communionis, p. 833.
[b] Epist. 3. p. 838.
[c] In 1 Decret. de summa Trinitate et fide Cathol. n. 44. 15. dist. Canones.

manded contrary, they would not obey the church but Christ. But how greatly they were mistaken, the cardinal legate[d] told them, "Possibile non est, Scripturam quamcunque, sive ipsa præceptum sive consilium contineat, in eos qui apud ecclesiam existunt, plus auctoritatis ligandi habere aut solvendi fideles, quàm ipsa ecclesia voluerit, aut verbo aut opere expresserit:" and in the third epistle[e] he tells them, "The authority of the church is to be preferred before the Scriptures."—The same also is taught by Elysius Neapolitanus.

It matters not what the primitive church did; no, nor much what the apostolical did: "for the apostles, indeed, wrote some certain things, not that they should rule our faith and our religion, but that they should be under it[f];" that is, they submit the Scriptures to the faith, nay, even to the practice of the church. For "the pope can change the Gospel," said Henrys, "the master of the Roman palace,—" and, according to place and time, give it another sense:" insomuch, that if any "man should not believe Christ to be the true God and man, if the pope thought so too, he should not be damned," said the cardinal of St. Angelo; and Sylvester Prierias[h] expressly affirmed, that the authority of the church of Rome, and the pope's, is greater than the authority of the Scriptures. These things being so notorious, I wonder with what confidence Bellarmine can say, that 'the catholics,'—meaning his own parties,—'do not subject the Scripture but prefer it before councils; and that there is no controversy in this;' when the contrary is so plain in the prealleged testimonies: but because his conscience checked him in this particular, he thinks to escape with a distinction. If the catholics sometimes say, that 'the Scriptures depend upon the church, or a council,' they do not understand it, in respect of authority or in themselves; but by explication, and in relation to us[i], which is too crude an affirmative to be believed: for besides that Pighius, in his epistle to Paul III. before his books of ecclesiastical hierarchy, affirms, that the

[d] Epist. 2. ad Bohemos, p. 834. edit. Basil. A. D. 1565.

[e] In piorum Clypeo, qu. 29. artic. 5. [f] Pighius Hierarch. lib. i. c. 2.

[g] Ad legatos Bohemicos sub Felice Papa, A. D. 1447. Vide Polan. in Dan. 11. 371.

[h] Sylvest. Prierias cont. Lutherum, conclu. 56.

[i] Bellarm. de Concil. autor. lib. ii. c. 12. sect. Diximus.

whole authority of the Scripture depends upon the church; and the testimonies, above cited, do in terms confute this saying of his: the distinction itself helps not all: for if the Scriptures have 'quoad nos,' no authority, but what the pope, or the church is pleased to give them; then they have in themselves none at all. For "the Scriptures were written for our learning;" not to instruct the angels, but to conserve the truths of God for the use of the church; and they have no other use or design; and if a man shall say the Scriptures have in themselves great authority, he must mean that in themselves they are highly credible 'quoad nos;' that is, that we are bound to believe them for their own truth and excellency. And if a man shall say, they have no authority 'quoad nos,' but what the church gives them; he says, they are not credible in themselves, and 'in se,' have no authority; so that this distinction is a metaphysical nothing, and is brought only to amuse men that have not leisure to consider. And he that says one, says the other; or as bad, under a thin and transparent cover. The church gives testimony external to the Scripture; but the internal authority is inherent, and derives only from God. But let the witness of the church be of as perfect force, as can be desired, I meddle not with it here; but that which I charge on the Roman doctors, is, that they give to their church a power of introducing, and imposing new articles of belief; and pretending that they have power so to do; and their definitions are of authority equal, if not superior to the Scriptures. And this I have now proved by many testimonies: to all which I add that of the canon law itself. In which Gratian[k] most falsely alleges pretended words of St. Austin (which Bellarmine[l] calls 'a being deceived by a false copy'), and among the canonical Scriptures, reckons the decretal epistles of the popes, "inter quas sanè illæ sunt quas apostolica sedes habere, et ab eâ alii meruerunt accipere epistolas:" Now who can tell of any copy of St. Austin, or heard of any, in which these words were seen? Certainly, no man alive; but if Gratian was deceived, the deceivers were among themselves; and yet they loved the deception, or else they might

[k] Dist. 19. Can. in Canonicis.

[l] De Concil. autorit. lib. ii. c. 12. sect. Respondeo ad Gratianum.

have expunged those words, when Gregory XIII. appointed a committee of learned men to purge that βόρβορος. But it yet remains; and if they do not pass for St. Austin's words, yet they are good law at Rome. "And heretics indeed talk otherwise," said Eckius[m]: "Objiciunt hæretici, major est autoritas Scripturæ quam ecclesiæ;" but he hath confuted them with an excellent argument. The church using blood and strangled, hath by authority changed a thing defined by the Scripture. "Behold," says he, "the power of the church over Scripture!" I love not to rake in such polluted channels; he that is pleased with it, may find enough to entertain his wonder, and his indignation, if he please to read Capistrano[n], Cupers[o], Andradius[p], Antonius[q], Pighius[r], Silvester Prierias[s], Johannes Maria Verratus[t], Coster[u], Zabarel[x], and Bellarmine[y] himself, who yet, with some more modesty of expression, affirms the same thing in substance, which according as it hath been, is, and is still likely to be made use of, is enough to undo the church; "The word of the pope, teaching out of his chair, is 'non omnino,' 'not altogether,' or 'not at all' the word of man, that is a word liable to error, but in some sort the word of God," &c.—Agreeable to which is that which the lawyers say, that the canon law is the Divine law; so said Hostiensis[z]. I hope I shall not be esteemed to slander her, when these writers think they so much honour the church of Rome in these sayings. In pursuance of this power and authority, pope Pius IV. made a new creed; and putting his power into act, did multiply new articles one upon another. And in the council of Trent, amongst many other new and fine doctrines, this was one, that 'it is heresy to say, that matrimonial causes do not per-

[m] Ios. Com. tit. 1. de Ecclesiâ et ejus autorit.

[n] Fol. 126. a. b. et 104. b. et 133. b.

[o] Pag. 42. n. 15. et p. 11. n. 18. et 124. n. 9.

[p] Defens. Trid. lib. i. et lib. ii. et Explic. Orthod. lib. ii.

[q] Pag. 3. lib. 23. c. 3. sect. 3.

[r] De Fide et Justif. 74. 6. et Hierarch. Eccl. lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. et in præfatione ad Paulum tertium

[s] Contr. Luther. Concl. 56.

[t] Dis. contr. Luther. 8. de Eccl. Concl. 1. lib. edit. 1554.

[u] Enchirid. c. 1.

[x] In 3 lib. Decret. de Convers. Conjug. c. ex Publico, n. 16.

[y] De verb. Dei, lib. iii. c. 10. sect. Ad decimum quintum.

[z] Super 2. de Cret. de Jurejur. c. Nimis, n. 1.

tain to ecclesiastical judges:' and yet we in England owe this privilege to the favour and bounty of the king, and so did the ancient churches to the kindness and religion of the emperor; and, if it were so, or not so, it is but matter of discipline, and cannot by a simple denial of it become an heresy. So that what I have alleged, is not the opinion of some private doctors, but the public practice of the Roman church. "Commissum ei (papæ) munus non modò articulos indeterminatos determinandi, sed etiam fidei symbolum condendi: atque hoc ipsum orthodoxos omnes omnium sæculorum agnovisse, et palam confessos esse;" it was said to Paulus Quintus, in an address to him[a]. And how good a catholic Baronius was in this particular, we may guess by what himself says concerning the business of the Apollinarists, in which the pope did and undid; "Ut planè appareat," says Baronius[b], "ex arbitrio pependisse Romani pontificis, decreta sancire, et sancita mutare."

2. That which I am next to represent is, that the church of Rome hath reason and necessity to pretend to this power of making new articles; for they having in the body of their articles, and in the public doctrines allowed by them, and in the profession and practices of their church, so many new things, which at least seem contrary to Scripture, or are not at all in Scripture; and such for which it is impossible to show any apostolical, or primitive tradition, do easily and openly betray their own weakness and necessity in this affair. My first instance is of their known arts of abusing the people, by pretended apparitions, and false miracles, for the establishing of strange opinions. "Non obscurum est quot opiniones invectæ sunt in orbem per homines, ad suum questum callidos, confictorum miraculorum præsidio," said Erasmus. These doctrines must needs be things that come over the walls, and in at the windows; they come not the right way. For besides that, as St. Chrysostom[c] says, "It was at first profitable, that miracles should be done; and now it is profitable, that they be not done: for then our faith was finished by miracles, but now by the Divine Scriptures:"

[a] Lib. Benedicti de Benedict. Bononiæ excusus, A. D. 1600.

[b] A. D. 373. n. 22.

[c] In 1 Cor. ii. tom. vi. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε χρησίμως ἐγίνετο, νῦν χρησίμως οὐ γίνεται.

Miracles are like watering of plants, to be done when they are newly set, and before they have taken root. Hence the apostle saith, "Tongues are for a sign to them that believe not, and not for them that believe." So St. Gregory[d], "Our ancestors followed after signs; by which it came to pass, that they should not be necessary to their posterity;" and, "he that yet looks for miracles that he may believe, is himself a miracle." Nay, to pretend miracles now-a-days, is the worst sign in the world. And here St. Austin[f], in great zeal, gives warning of such things as these: "Let not a man say, this is true, because Donatus, Pontius, or another, hath done wonderful things; or because men praying at the memories of martyrs are heard; or because such, or such things there happen, or because that brother of ours, or that sister of ours, waking saw such a vision, or sleeping dreamt such a dream: let those fictions of lying men, or wonders of deceitful spirits, be removed. For either those things which are spoken, are not true; or if any miracles of heretics be done, we ought to take heed the more. Because when our Lord said, some 'deceivers should arise, which should do signs, and deceive, if it were possible, the very elect;' he, commending this saying, vehemently added, 'Behold, I have told you of it before.'" The same is also taught by the author[g] of the imperfect work on St. Matthew, imputed to St. Chrysostom, who calls the power of working miracles (after the first vocation of the Gospel) 'seductionis adjutoria,' 'the helps of seduction;' as at first they were used by Christ, and Christ's servants, as instruments of vocation; and affirms, these helps of deceit were to be delivered to the devil. It was the same in the Gospel, as it was in the law of Moses; after God had, by signs and wonders in the hand of Moses, fixed and established his law, which only was to be their rule; and caution was given, (Deut. i. 13.) that against that rule no man should be believed, though he wrought miracles. Upon which words Theodoret[h] says, "We are instructed, that we must not mind signs, when he that works them teaches any thing contrary to piety." And therefore these

[d] Homil. 29. in Evangel.
[e] S. Aug. de verâ Relig. c. 25.
[f] Id. de civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. 8.
[g] August. Tract. 13. in Evangel. Johan. Homil. 49.
[h] Quæst. in Deuter.

things can be to no purpose, unless it be to deceive; except this only, that where miracles are pretended, there is a warning also given, that there is danger of deception, and there is the seat of antichrist, 'who is foretold should come in all signs, and lying wonders.' "Generatio nequam signum quærit," said Christ. But it is remarkable by the doctrines, for which in the church of Rome[i] miracles are pretended, that they are a cover fitted for their dish; new miracles to destroy the old truths, and to introduce new opinions. For to prove any article of our creed, or the necessity of a Divine commandment, or the divinity of the eternal Son of God, there is now no need of miracles, and for this way of proving these, and such articles as these, they trouble not themselves; but for transubstantiation, adoration of the consecrated bread and wine, for purgatory, invocation, and worship of saints, of their relics, of the cross, monastical vows, fraternities of friars and monks, the pope's supremacy, and double monarchy in the church of Rome, they never give over to make, and boast prodigious miracles. But with what success, we may learn from some of the more sober and wise amongst them. "In sacramento apparet caro, interdum humanâ procuratione, interdum operatione diabolica," said Alexander of Ales[k]; this, indeed, was an old trick; and St. Irenæus[l] reports, that it was done by Marcus, that great hæresiarch, that by his prayer he caused the eucharistical wine to appear as if it were turned into blood; and Biel[m] affirms, that "miracles are done to men who run to images, sometimes by operation of devils, to deceive those inordinate worshippers; God permitting it, and their infidelity exacting it." And when, in the question of the immaculate conception, there are miracles produced on both sides, (as the learned bishop[n] of the Canaries tells us), it must needs be, that on one side the devil was the architect, if not on both. And such stories are so frequently related by the Romish legends, by St. Gregory, bishop of Rome, by Beda, by Vincentius Belvacensis Antoninus, by the 'Speculum Exemplorum,' and are accounted religious stories, and are so publicly preached and told by the friars in their sermons, and so believed by

[i] Hic. 11. 19. vide Stellam; ibid.
[l] Ireu. lib. i. c. 9.
[n] Melchior Canus. loc. Commun. lib. xi. c. 6.
[k] Id. quartam sent. q. 53.
[m] In Canon Missæ. lect. 49.

the people, and the common sort of Roman catholics, and indifferently amongst many of the better sort, that their minds are greatly possessed with such a superstitious credulity, and are fed with such hypochondriacal, and fond opinions, that it is observable, how they, by those usages, are become fond news-mongers, and reporters of every ridiculous story. "Hi piè nonnihil admentientes, supponunt reliquias, fabricant miracula, confinguntque (quæ exempla vocant) vel plausibiles, vel terribiles fabulas:" so Cornelius Agrippa[o] complains of the writers of such ridiculous stories in that church; that, as one of their own writers said, 'they equal, if not exceed, Amadis and Clarianus.' Who please to see more of this, may be satisfied with reading Canus, in the chapter above quoted: or, if he please, he may observe it in Bellarmine[p] himself; who out of those very legends and stories, which are disallowed by Canus, and out of divers others, as Garetius, Tilmanus, Bredenbachius, Thomas of Walden, and I know not who besides, recount seven miracles, to prove the proper natural presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; amongst which, it is not the least which he tells, of the fellow's beast, who left his barley at the command of St. Anthony of Padua, and went to worship the sacrament. Such things as these it is no wonder that they are either acted or believed in the church of Rome, since so many popes and priests are magicians; and since that villain of a man, pope Hildebrand, as Cardinal Beno relates in his life, could, by shaking of his sleeve, make sparks of fire fly from it. I end this, and make no other use of it than what is made by Aventinus[q], saying, that 'this pope under show of religion, is said to have laid the foundation of the empire of antichrist.'—"Multi falsi prophetæ nebulas offundunt; fabulis, miraculis (exempla vocant) à veritate Christi plebem avertunt. Falsi tum prophetæ, falsi apostoli, falsi sacerdotes emersêre, qui simulatâ religione populum deceperunt, magna signa atque prodigia ediderunt, et in templo Dei sedere atque extolli super id quod colitur, cœperunt. Dumque suam potentiam, dominationemque stabilire conantur, caritatem, et simplicitatem Christianam extinxerunt." And

[o] De vani. Scien. c. 97.
[p] Bellar. lib. iii. de Euchar. c. 8.
[q] Lib. v. et lib. vii.

they continue to do so to this day, where they have any hopes to prevail without discovery. Secondly, themselves acknowledge, that 'there are many things of which there was no inquiry in the primitive church, which yet, upon doubts arising, are now become perspicuous by the diligence of after-times;' it is the acknowledgment of the cardinal of Rochester. And Bellarmine[r] helps to make this good with a considerable instance, "Cum scriberentur Scripturæ, nondum cœperat usus vovendi sanctis;" and cardinal Perron[s] adds, "Et quant aux autheurs plus proche du siecle apostolique, encore qu'il ne se trouve pas de vestiges de cette coûtume, &c." Neither in the age of the apostles, that is, 'when the Scriptures were written, nor in the age next to it, are there any footsteps of vowing to saints; for then the custom was not begun.' The pope's infallibility goes amongst very many for a catholic doctrine; in Spain and Italy, in Austria and Poland, it is so, and every where else where the Jesuits prevail: but when Bellarmine[t] hath affirmed that Nilus, Gerson, Almain, Alphonsus à Castro, and pope Adrian VI. had taught that the pope might be a heretic, if he defines without a general council; and in his censure of them, affirmed that this opinion is not 'propriè hæretica,' he plainly, by certain and immediate consequence, confesses, that for fourteen or fifteen hundred years the judgment of the pope was not esteemed infallible. Now if this be true, it is impossible that it can ever be determined as a catholic truth; for there is no catholic tradition for it. There was not for many ages; and, therefore, either there is no tradition in the present church for it, or if there be, it is contrary to the old tradition: and, therefore, either the tradition of the present church is no rule, or if it be, it is a very new one; and several ages are bound to believe contradictory propositions. That the pope is above a council is held by some Roman catholics, and it is held so by all the popes, and hath without scruple been determined in the chair, and contended for earnestly, for about two hundred years past; and yet all the world knows it was not so of old. For we know when the question

[r] Lib. iii. De cultu Sanctorum, c. 9. sect. Præterea.

[s] Contre le Roi de la Grand Bretaigne.

[t] Lib. iv. De Pontifice Romano, c. 2. sect. Secunda opinio. et sect. Ex his quatuor.

began, even in the time of the first council of Pisa, a little before the council of Constance; and now, that the pope is above the council, is 'sententia ferè communis;' nay, it is 'ferè de fide,' saith Bellarmine[u]. Which expression of his shows plainly, that articles of faith grow in the womb of the Roman church, as an embryo, to be perfected when the pope shall see his time. Nay, if the pope's definition 'in cathedrâ' be infallible, or if it can be known where the pope does define 'in cathedrâ;' this proposition that 'the pope is above a council,' is more than 'ferè de fide;' for, that 'the council is superior,' is an heretical opinion, and the favourers of it heretics, Pius IV. affirmed [x], in his complaint against Lansack, the French ambassador in the council of Trent, and he threatened to persecute and chastise them. And the like is to be said concerning that fine new article of faith made by pope Paul IV., of which I have spoken in the first section, that a pope cannot be bound, much less can he bind himself, viz. by an oath; for that was the subject matter of the discourse. The number of the seven sacraments is now an article of the Roman faith, taught in their catechisms, determined in their councils, preached in their pulpits, disputed for against their adversaries; and yet the council of Florence was the first council, and Peter Lombard was the first man we find ever to have precisely fixed upon that number, as Bellarmine[y] and Valentia[z] sufficiently acknowledge, even when they would fain deny it. Here I might instance in the seal of confession, which, as they have at Rome passed it under a sacramental lock and key, and founded upon a Divine law (for so they pretend), is one of the new articles of faith, which wholly depends upon the authority of the church of Rome; who, for the sake of this, and many other articles, is compelled to challenge a strange power even of making and imposing new creeds, or of quitting her new articles. But the whole order of sections in this chapter will be one continued argument of this particular.

[u] De Concil. Auctor. lib. ii. c. 14. sect. Ultima sententia; et c. 17. sect. Tertia propositio.

[x] A. D. 1562. [y] De Effect. Sacr. lib. ii. c. 25. sect. Secunda probatio.

[z] In Thom. tom. iv. disp. 3. q. 6. punct. 2. sect. Tertiò objiciunt, &c.

SECTION VI.

Of the Expurgatory Indices in the Roman Church.

THEY use indirect and unworthy arts, that they may do it without reproach and discovery; and for this, I instance in the whole affair and annexes of their expurgatory indices; concerning which, three things are said in the first part of this Dissuasive. 1. That the king of Spain gave a commission to the inquisitors to purge all catholic authors, but with a clause of secrecy. 2. That they purged the indices of the fathers' works. 3. That they did also purge the works of the fathers themselves. The first and the last are denied by them that wrote against the 'Dissuasive:' the second they confess, and endeavour to justify. But how well, will appear when I have first made good the first and the last.

1. That the king of Spain gave a clancular commission to the inquisitors, can be denied by no man, but by him that hath ignorance for his excuse; and then also the ignorance ought rather to be modestly confessed, than a fault charged upon him, who, knowing it, did affirm it[a]. But the commission is printed both in Dutch and Latin, together with the expurgatory indices of Belgium and Madrid, at Henovia or Henault, by Gulielmus Antonius, 1611, in which the king affirms, that he caused the Belgick index to be printed by his own chief printer, at his own charge, "Non quidem evulgandum, distrahendumque; sed distribuendum solis cognitoribus," &c. And a little after, giving faculty to the prelates to choose one or more assistants, he adds, "Iique ipsi privatim, nullisque consciis, apud se indicem expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt," &c. This then is soon at an end.

2. But Junius, that published the indices, seems to say

[a] E. W. page 17. 'He is false and faulty through this whole section; faulty, in telling us of a clancular commission given by the king of Spain to the inquisitors, &c. without directing us either to book or index where to find it.'—This commission is in Junius's edition of the Indices Expurgatorii; and of this book the author of a Letter to a Friend did make use, as appears in his sixth page, under n. 16.

that they did not purge the works of the fathers. To this the answer that Junius himself makes, is sufficient; for he instances in their purgation of Bertram, who yet was elder than Haymo, Theophylact, Œcumenius, and almost two hundred years before St. Bernard; and yet they openly professed to use him as they please: and when Bertram had said 'visibilitèr,' they commanded he should be read 'invisibilitèr;' which is a pretty little change, and very meet to Bertram's sense surely. But Bellarmine[b] is also, in this particular, a witness beyond exception; for when he had recited an objection out of St. Chrysostom, proving that, in the times of heresy, there is no way of finding truth but by the Scripture; having nothing else to answer, he says, The book was either written or interpolated by an Arian; "Et propterea totus hic locus, tanquam ab Arianis insertus, è quibusdam codicibus nuper emendatis sublatus est." But the thing is plain also in the 'indices' themselves; for in the Spanish index, by the command of Gaspar Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo, and in that also of Sandoval, the purge hath passed upon the 'Bibliotheca sanctorum Patrum,' collected by Binius; where, not only the gloss upon St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, but the works of St. Anthony the abbot, St. Melito, Mark the hermit, Dorotheus, and divers others, are purged; and that the reader may be satisfied in the manner and design of the proceeding, the doctrines or sayings to be blotted out are these[c]: "We have learned to worship and venerate that nature *only*, that is uncreated:"—"dele *solummodò*," said the good fathers of the purges:—'Prudence, and life, and piety, make the priest:'—'A wicked mind cannot be justified:'—'He that keeps not the commandments, does not believe rightly:'—'Only the Holy Trinity is properly incorporeal:'—'A spiritual prayer helps not an unclean mind.' These are all doctrines very dangerous and heretical, and, therefore, though the fathers teach them, yet 'deleantur,' let them pass through the fire, and leave their dross behind them. But I desire the reader to observe, that when, in the Sandoval edition of the index, an order was taken for the purging the 'Bibliotheca Patrum,' in the

[b] De Verbo Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. sect. Sextò profert.
[c] Edit. Hanov. 1611. p. 282.

edition of it at Colone, the Sandoval canon was not observed; and the reason given for it was this, "Lest the heretics may have occasion given them to insult;" which they could not do, unless they had taken their adversaries in their tampering. But they are gone yet one step further in this particular; for in the latter editions of the 'Bibliotheca[d],' they do not add the title of 'sanctorum' to them, but 'patrum' only, and 'Ecclesiasticorum Scriptorum;' according to the order of the Sandoval expurgatory index, printed at Madrid, 1612, and of the Quirogian index, printed there 1583. So that, as they are forced secretly to imply that they are not so right for their catholic cause, as they would have them; so they are resolved, whatsoever is not so, shall not pass with them for holy. And in this diminution and dishonour of the memory of the ancient fathers, St. Clement of Alexandria's good name hath suffered shipwreck; for "in Clemente Alexandrino[e], in duplici titulo operis, dele *titulum Divi*;" for now it happens, in some measure, to them that have in honour the memory of such men, that seemed to speak any thing against the errors of the Roman church,—as it did to Arulenus Rusticus praising of Pætus Thrasea, and to Herennius Senecio commending Priscus Helvidius, "capitale fuit," said Tacitus[*]; and this is notorious in their tables, their new-fashioned diptychs, where men of honourable name and great worth are called "damnati auctores," and their very name commanded to be put out, and some periphrasis set down for them. 2. But that I may give one pregnant instance of their purging the fathers; I desire him that is curious and would be satisfied in this thing, to see the edition of St. Austin, at Venice; and in the inscription of his works, he shall find this confession, "In quo, præter locorum multorum restitutionem secundum collationem veterum exemplarium, curavimus removeri illa omnia, quæ fidelium mentes hæreticâ pravitate possent inficere, aut à catholicâ orthodoxâ fide deviare." And in the Quirogian index, which hath these words, "Sunt autem ferè omnia, quæ offendunt in prologis et marginalibus annotationibus," we may easily see, that not the prologues and annotations alone are guilty, but

[d] Edit. Paris. 1610. [e] Index Expurg. Sandov. p. 83.
[*] Agric. Vit. sect. 2. Oberlin.

even St. Austin's text. But beyond conjecture, the thing is in itself evident. But the fathers' words are expunged in one place, and, consequently, condemned in every place; which is that I intended in the citation of those words by Junius, and which were also set down in the first part of the Dissuasive. But both in the text and index of St. Cyril[f] of Alexandria, these words are, and yet commanded to be, blotted, "Habitat Jesus per fidem in cordibus nostris." Which very words are not in St. Cyril only, but in St. Paul[g] too; and by St. Cyril quoted with a 'sicut scriptum est.'

And again, "Deleantur ex textu illa verba, fidei autem gratiam cum his qui valdè inquinati sunt, tum etiam paulum morbo affectis, satis ad emendationem valituram esse fidem, dicens fides sola justificat," are commanded to be blotted[h], and yet they are both in the index and text of St. Jerome. So the gloss of Epiphanius[i], of 'Creaturam non adorare,' is commanded to be blotted out; when the words of Epiphanius's text are, "Sancta Dei ecclesia creaturam non adorat," and it is so in other places, of which the indices themselves are the best testimony. And that no man may question whether they purged the fathers, yea or no, Sixtus Senensis said it to Pius V., "Deinde expurgari et emaculari curasti omnia catholicorum Scriptorum, ac præcipuè veterum patrum scripta:" "Especially the writings of the ancient fathers" were purged.

Now true it is, that in the following words he pretends a reason why he did so, and tells what things were purged; 'even those things which were infected and poisoned by the heretics of our age.' These last words, and this reason, was not cited in the first part, when the former words were made use of; and, therefore, an outcry was raised by them that wrote against it, as if they had been concealed by fraudulent design[k]. To which I answer, that I was not willing to interrupt the order of my discourse, with quoting words which are neither true nor pertinent. For they have in them no truth, and no good meaning. They are 'protestatio contra factum;' as being set there to persuade the world, that none

[f] In Esai. lib. i. c. 51. in fin.
[g] Ephes. iii. 17.
[h] Index Quirog. p. 74.
[i] In Epist. ad Rom. c. 10. hæres. 69.
[k] E. W. p. 12. and the author of a Letter, p. 7.

of the fathers, or modern catholics, were purged, unless the Lutherans had corrupted them; when all the world knows, they have purged the writings of the catholics, old and new, fathers and moderns, which themselves had printed, and formerly allowed; but now, being wiser, and finding them to give too much evidence against them, they have altered them. I could instance in many; but I shall not need, since enough may be seen in doctor James's table of books, which were first set forth and approved, and afterwards censured by themselves. I shall trouble my reader but with one instance. That one is, the work of Ferus upon St. John's first epistle, which was printed at Antwerp, 1556, with the privilege given by king Philip to Martinus Nutius, with this elogy: "Nam suæ majestati patuit librum esse omnino utilem, et nihil continere quod pias aures meritò offendere possit." The same book was printed at Paris, 1555, by De Marnet, and 1556, by Audoën Petit, or Parvus; at Lyons, 1559, by Jacobus de Mellis; and the same year at Louvain, by Servatius Sessenus, and at Mentz, where he was preacher, by Francis Behem; and after all this, it was printed at Paris, 1563, by Gabriel Buon; and at Antwerp, 1565, by the heirs of Nutius. Now all these editions were made by the papists, and allowed of; and no protestant, 'no heretic of that age,' that I may use the words of Senensis, 'had corrupted them;' neither is it pretended that they did: and yet this book was purged at Rome, 1577, and altered, added, and detracted, in one hundred and ninety-four places; of the nature and consequence of which alterations, I give this one instance: in the second chapter, where Ferus, in the old edition of Mentz, Louvain, Antwerp, &c. had these words, "Scriptura sacra data est nobis ceu certa quædam regula Christianæ doctrinæ;" but in the Roman edition, 1577, the words are changed thus: "Sacra Scriptura et traditio nobis data sunt ceu certa quædam regula Christianæ doctrinæ." By which instance it plainly appears, that the inquisitors general and the pope purge others than what the heretics have corrupted, and that these words of Sixtus Senensis are but a false cover to a foul dish, when they could no longer hide it. Nay, even the rules given by the pope himself, Clement VIII., give order for prohibiting the books of the catholics, before they be purged. "Si nonnulla contineant quæ sine delectu ab

omnibus legi non expedit:" and in the preface to the Sandoval index[1], it is said: "Obiter autem, in quorundam orthodoxorum libris, nonnulli lapsus aut quædam obscurius dicta deprehensa, quibus expurgatio, explicatio, aut cautio prudenter adhibita, ne minus cautos lectores contingat impingere." Which is a plain indication, that the church of Rome proceeds in her purging of books upon other accounts than removing the corruptions lately introduced by the Lutherans or Calvinists. And all this, and much more, being evident and notorious, there was reason then to think, as I do still, that those words were of no use to be added, unless to give occasion of impertinent wrangling; but that there could be no other design in it, is manifest by what I have now said. 3. But that the expurgatory 'Indices' had the less need to do much of this, since their work was done to their hands[m]. For the fathers' works had passed through fire ordeal many times before. I instanced in the edition of St. Ambrose, by Ludovicus Saurius, wherein many lines were cancellated, and the edition spoiled; and this was done by the authority of two Franciscans[n]; "Qui pro autoritate has omnes paginas dispunxerunt ut vides, et illas substitui in locum priorum curaverunt, præter omnem librorum nostrorum fidem," said Saurius. Against this, it is said, that it is a slander, because the 'Index Expurgatorius' was not appointed till the end of the council of Trent, which was A. D. 1563, and, therefore, could not put a force upon Saurius, who corrected this book, and assisted at the edition of it, 1559. To which I answer, that it was not said, that the 'Index Expurgatorius' put a force upon Saurius; but only a force was put upon him: and that it was so by two Franciscans, Junius, who tells the story, does affirm. 2. For aught appears to the contrary, nay, most probable it was so, that this force was put upon him by the authority of the 'Expurgatorius Index;' for though the council of Trent appointed one, a little before its ending, which was in 1563, yet there was an index made before that, by pope Paul IV., who died four years before the end of the council; and this he "made by the council of all the inquisitors, and of many famous men, who sent him

[1] Reg. 5.

[m] By the author of the Letter, and E. W.

[n] Junius in Præfat. ad Ind. Expurg. Belgic.

advice from all parts, and he made a most complete catalogue, to which nothing can be added, except some book come forth within two years," said friar Augustin Selvago [o], archbishop of Genoa. So that here was authority enough, and there wanted no zeal, and here is matter of fact complained of, by the parties suffering. 4. It would, indeed, have been matter of great scandal and reproach, to have openly handled all the fathers indifferently, as they used the moderns; and though, as I have proved, this did not wholly restrain them, yet it abated much of their willingness; but there was less need of it, because they had very well purged them before, by cancellating the lines, by parting the pages, by corrupting their writings, by putting glosses in the margent, and afterwards putting these glosses into the text. "Quod lector ineptiens annotârat in margine sui codicis, scribæ retulerunt in contextum," said Erasmus, in his preface to the works of St. Austin, to the archbishop of Toledo; and the same also is observed by the Paris overseers of the press, in their preface to their edition of St. Austin's works, at Paris, 1571, by Martin and Nivellius. And this thing was notorious in a considerable instance, in St. Cyprian, 'de Unitate Ecclesiæ [p];' where, after the words of Christ spoken to St. Peter, and recorded by St. Matthew, there had been a marginal note, 'Hîc Petro primatus datur;' which words they have brought into the Roman and Antwerp editions; but they have both left out 'Hîc,' and the Roman, instead of it, hath put 'Et.' And whereas, in the old editions of Cyprian, even the Roman itself, these words were, "He who withstandeth and resisteth the church, doth he trust himself to be in the church?" some body hath made bold to put the words thus, in the text of the edition of Antwerp; "He who forsaketh Peter's chair, on which the church is founded, doth he trust himself to be in the church?"— But in how many places that excellent book of St. Cyprian's is interlined, and spoiled by the new correctors, is evident to him that shall compare the Roman edition with the elder copies, and them with the later edition of Antwerp; and Pamelius himself [q], concerning some words, saith, "Atque

[o] Concil. Trident. in primâ sessione sub Pio quarto.
[p] Vide Pamelii annot. in librum. [q] Ibid.

adeò non sumus veriti in textum inserere." I could bring in many considerable instances, though it be more than probable, that of forty falsities in the abusing the fathers' writings by Roman hands, there was not perhaps above one or two discoveries; yet this, and many other concurrences, might make it less needful to pass their sponges upon the fathers. But when the whole charge of printing of books at Rome lies on the apostolical see, as Manutius[r] tells us; it is likely enough, that all shall be taken care of, so as shall serve their purposes. And so the printer tells[s] us, viz. "That such care was taken to have them so corrected, that there should be no spot which might infect the minds of the simple, with the show or likeness of false doctrine." And now by this, we may very well perceive, how the force was put upon Saurius, in the purging St. Ambrose, even by the inquisitors; and that by the authority and care of the pope: and, therefore, though the works of most of the greater fathers were not put into the expurgatory indices, yet they were otherwise purged, that is, most shamefully corrupted, torn and maimed, and the lesser fathers passed under the file in the expurgatory indices themselves.

3. But then, that they purged the indices of the fathers' works, is so notorious, that it is confessed, and endeavoured to be justified[t]. But when we come to consider, that many times the very words of the fathers which are put into the index, are commanded to be expunged, it at once shows, that fain they would, and yet durst not expunge the words out of the books, since they would be discovered by their adversaries, and they would suffer reproach without doing any good to themselves. Now whereas it is said[u], that, "therefore, the words of the fathers are blotted out of the indices, because they are set down without antecedents, and consequents; and prepare the reader to an ill sense:" this might be possible, but we see it otherwise in the instances themselves, which oftentimes are so plain, that no context, no circumstances, can alter the proposition: which is most of all notorious in the 'deleatur' of the indices of the Bible,

[r] Epist. lib. ix. ad Jacobum Gorseium.
[s] In præf. ad Pium Quartum in librum Cardinalis Poli de Concilio.
[t] The author of a Letter to a Friend, p. 7. E. W. p. 20.
[u] E. W. p. 19.

set forth by Robert Stephens. "Credens Christo non morietur in æternum,"—this is to be blotted out; and yet Christ himself said[x] it, "Every one that lives, and believes in me, shall never die."—"Justus coram Deo nemo," is to be blotted out of Robert Stephens's index; and yet David[y] prayed, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified."—Now what antecedent, or what context, or what circumstances, can alter the sense of these places; which being the same in the text and the index, shows the goodwill of the inquisitors; and that like king Edward VI.'s tutor, they corrected the prince upon his page's back; and they have given sufficient warning of the danger of those words wherever they find them in the fathers, since they have so openly rebuked them in the indices. And, therefore, I made no distinction of places; but reckoned those words censured in the expurgatory tables as the fathers' words censured or expunged; and in this I followed the style of their own books, for in the Belgic index[z], the style is thus; "In Hieronymi Operibus expungenda, quæ sequuntur," and yet they are the scholia, indices, and sense of the fathers set down, and printed in the same volume altogether; and, having the same fate, and all upon the same account, I had reason to charge it as I did.

And how far the evil of this did proceed, may easily be conjectured by what was done by the inquisition in the year 1559, in which there was a catalogue of sixty-two printers; and all the books which any of them printed, of what author, or what language soever, prohibited; and all books which were printed by printers, that had printed any books of heretics: insomuch that not only books of a hundred, two hundred, three hundred years ago, and approbation, were prohibited, but there scarce remained a book to be read.

But by this means they impose upon men's faith and consciences; suffering them to allow of nothing in any man, no not in the fathers, but what themselves mark out for them; not measuring their own doctrines by the ancients,

[x] John, xi. 26. [y] Psal. cxlii. v. 1. alias cxliii. [z] Pag. 70. edit. 1611.

but reckoning their sayings to be, or not to be catholic, according as they agree to their present opinions: which is infinitely against the candour, ingenuity, and confidence of truth, which needs none of these arts. And besides all this, how shall it be possible to find out tradition by succession, when they so interrupt and break the intermedial lines? And this is beyond all the foregoing instances very remarkable in their purging of histories. In Munster's Cosmography, there was a long story of Ludovicus, the emperor of the house of Bavaria, that made very much against the see of Rome. It is commanded to be left out; and "in illius loco inseratur, si placet, sequens historia[a]:" and then there is made a formal story not consonant to the mind of the historian. And the same Lewis of Bavaria published a smart answer to the bull of pope John XXII., an information of the nullity of the pope's proceedings against him: but the records and monuments of these things they tear out by their expurgatory tables; lest we of latter ages should understand how the popes of Rome invaded the rights of princes, and by new doctrines and occasions changed the face, the body, the innocence, and the soul of Christian religion. The whole apology of the emperor Henry IV., and the epistles of prince Frederic II.[b], they pull out of the fifth tome of the writers of the German affairs, "Neque in ipsos modò auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum" (that I may use the words of Tacitus[c], complaining), "delegato Triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet, illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatûs et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bonâ arte in exsilium actâ, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret."—For thus they not only destroy the liberty of the church, and the names of the honourable, and the sentences of the wise; but even hope to prevail upon the consciences of all mankind, and the history of the world, that nothing may be remembered by which themselves may be

[a] Index Belg. p. 161. Impres. A. D. 1611. Hanoviæ.

[b] Cancellarius Bavariæ egregiè vindicavit principis sui memoriam à Bzovianis impostnris.

[c] In vitâ Julii Agric. c. 2.

reproved. But this is not agreeable to the simplicity and ingenuity of the Christian religion.

> Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
> Christus eget.

But what Arnobius[d] said to the heathen, in their violent and crafty arts to suppress the growth of Christianity, may be a good admonition to these artists of the inquisition; "Intercipere scripta, et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est Deum defendere, sed veritatis testificationem timere."

One thing more I am to add here, that they are so infinitely insecure in their errors, and so unsatisfied with the learning of the world, and they find it so impossible to resist the frequent and public testimonies of truth; or indeed rather they so grow in error, and so often change their propositions; that they neither agree at one time, nor does one time agree with another, in their purgations; that a saint to-day may be a common person to-morrow; and that which is an allowed doctrine now, next year may be heretical, or temerarious, or dangerous. The 'Speculum Oculare' of Johannes Capnio, was approved by pope Leo X. It was afterwards rejected by pope Paul IV.; and him the council of Trent following, and rejecting the sentence of pope Leo, did also condemn it; and the inquisitors, to whom the making of the index was committed by Paul IV., caused it to be burnt: but afterwards the censors of Douay permit the book, and so it is good again. What uncertainty can be greater to consciences, than what the ignorance or faction of these men cause? Here is pope against pope, a council against the pope; and the monks inquisitors of Douay, against both pope and council; and what can be the end of these things? When the Quirogian Index came forth, a man would think, there had been an end of so much as was there purged: and certain it is, they were cautious enough, and they purged all they thought deserved it: but yet when they of Salamanca published the Bible of Robert Stephens, and strictly had observed the rules of cardinal Quiroga, "Ita ut in contextu pauca, in annotationibus plurima omiserint[e]; yet other inqui-

[d] Lib. iii. adv. gentes.

[e] Vide Præfationem ad Lectorem in Ind. Sandov.

sitors, being wiser by a new light, did so blot and raze, and scratch out many things more, that the Bible, which was a very fair one in A. D. 1584, came forth exceedingly defaced and spoiled in the year 1586.

I need not observe, that in all the expurgatory indices you shall not find Gasper Schioppius, or the Jesuits censured; nor Baronius, although he declared the kingdom of Sicily to belong to the pope, and not to the king of Spain; but if any thing escape which lessens the pope's omnipotence (it is their own word), then it is sure to fall under the sponges and the razor: so that this mystery of iniquity is too evident to be covered by the most plausible pretences of any interested advocate. But if this be the way, to stop all mouths, but those that speak the same thing, it is no wonder if they boast of unity: they might very well do so; but that the providence of God, which overrules all events, hath by his almighty power divided them, in despite of all their cunning arts to seem to be sons of one mother: only it will be now a much more hard province, to tell when their errors first began, since they have taken order to cut out the tongues of them that tell us. And this they have done to their own canon law itself, and to the old glosses, in which there were remaining some footsteps of the ancient and apostolical doctrine; upon which the craft of the enemy of mankind, and the arts of interested persons, had not quite prevailed; as is largely to be seen in the very censures themselves upon the glosses, published by the command of pope Pius V., 1580 [f].

SECTION VII.

The Uncharitableness of the Church of Rome in her judging of others.

4. The next thing I charge upon them, is, that having done these things to propagate their new doctrines, and to suppress those which are more ancient and catholic; they are so implacably angry at all that dissent from them, that they not

[f] Imprimebantur etiam Hanoviæ, procurantibus Jugio et Pappo. 1611.

only kill them (where they have power), but damn them all, as far as their sentence can prevail. If you be a Roman catholic, let your life be what it will; their sacrament of penance is πάσης ἁμαρτάδος ἀναιρετικὸν, 'it takes away all their sins' in a quarter of an hour: but if you differ from them, even in the least point they have declared, you are not to be endured in this world, nor in the world to come. Indeed this is one of the inseparable characters of an heretic; he sets his whole communion and all his charity upon his article; for to be zealous in the schism, that is the characteristic of a good man, that is his note of Christianity: in all the rest he excuses you or tolerates you, provided you be a true believer; then you are one of the faithful, a good man and a precious, you are of the congregation of the saints, and one of the godly. All solifidians do thus; and all that do thus are solifidians, the church of Rome herself not excepted; for though in words she proclaims the possibility of keeping all the commandments; yet she dispenses easier with him that breaks them all, than with him that speaks one word against any of her articles, though but the least; even the eating of fish, and forbidding flesh in Lent. So that it is faith they regard more than charity, a right belief more than a holy life; and for this you shall be with them upon terms easy enough, provided you go not a hair's breadth from any thing of her belief. For if you do, they have provided for you two deaths and two fires, both inevitable and one eternal. And this certainly is one of the greatest evils, of which the church of Rome is guilty: for this in itself is the greatest and unworthiest uncharitableness. But the procedure is of great use to their ends. For the greatest part of Christians are those that cannot consider things leisurely and wisely, searching their bottoms, and discovering the causes, or foreseeing events, which are to come after; but are carried away by fear and hope, by affection and prepossession: and, therefore, the Roman doctors are careful to govern them as they will be governed; if you dispute, you gain, it may be, one, and lose five; but if you threaten them with damnation, you keep them in fetters; for they that are "in fear of death, are all their lifetime in bondage," saith the apostle[a]: and there is in the world nothing so potent as fear of the two

[a] Heb. ii. 15.

deaths, which are the two arms and grapples of iron by which the church of Rome takes and keeps her timorous, or conscientious proselytes. The easy protestant calls upon you from Scripture, to do your duty, to build a holy life upon a holy faith, the faith of the apostles, and first disciples of our Lord; he tells you, if you err; and teaches you the truth; and if ye will obey, it is well; if not, he tells you of your sin, and that all sin deserves the wrath of God; but judges no man's person, much less any states of men. He knows that God's judgments are righteous and true; but he knows also, that his mercy absolves many persons, who in his just judgment were condemned: and if he had a warrant from God to say, that he should destroy all the papists, as Jonas had, concerning the Ninevites; yet he remembers that every repentance, if it be sincere, will do more, and prevail greater, and last longer than God's anger will. Besides these things, there is a strange spring, and secret principle in every man's understanding, that it is oftentimes turned about by such impulses, of which no man can give an account. But we all remember a most wonderful instance of it, in the disputation between the two Reynolds's, John and William; the former of which being a papist, and the latter a protestant, met, and disputed, with a purpose to confute, and to convert each other, and so they did: for those arguments which were used, prevailed fully against their adversary, and yet did not prevail with themselves. The papist turned protestant, and the protestant became a papist, and so remained to their dying day. Of which some ingenious person gave a most handsome account, in an excellent epigram, which for the verification of the story, I have set down in the margent [b]. But further yet, he considers the natural and

[b] Bella, inter geminos, plusquam civilia, fratres
Traxerat ambiguus religionis apex.
Ille reformatæ fidei pro partibus instat:
Iste reformandam denegat esse fidem.
Propositis causæ rationibus; alter utrinque
Concurrêre pares, et cecidêre pares.
Quod fuit in votis, fratrem capit alter uterque;
Quod fuit in fatis, perdit uterque fidem.
Captivi gemini sine captivante fuerunt,
Et victor victi transfuga castra petit.
Quod genus hoc pugnæ est, ubi victus gaudet uterque;
Et tamen alteruter se superâsse dolet?

regular infirmities of mankind; and God considers them much more; he knows that in man there is nothing admirable but his ignorance, and weakness; his prejudice, and the infallible certainty of being deceived in many things: he sees, that wicked men oftentimes know much more than many very good men; and that the understanding is not of itself considerable in morality, and effects nothing in rewards and punishments: it is the will only that rules man, and can obey God. He sees, and deplores it, that many men study hard, and understand little; that they dispute earnestly, and understand not one another at all; that affections creep so certainly, and mingle with their arguing, that the argument is lost, and nothing remains but the conflict of two adversaries' affections; that a man is so willing, so easy, so ready to believe what makes for his opinion, so hard to understand an argument against himself, that it is plain, it is the principle within, not the argument without, that determines him: he observes also that all the world (a few individuals excepted) are unalterably determined to the religion of their country, of their family, of their society; that there is never any considerable change made, but what is made by war and empire, by fear and hope: he remembers that it is a rare thing to see a jesuit of the dominican opinion; or a dominican (until of late) of the jesuit; but every order gives laws to the understanding of their novices, and they never change: he considers there is such ambiguity in words, by which all lawgivers express their meaning; that there is such abstruseness in mysteries of religion, that some things are so much too high for us, that we cannot understand them rightly; and yet they are so sacred, and concerning, that men will think they are bound to look into them, as far as they can; that it is no wonder if they quickly go too far, where no understanding, if it were fitted for it, could go far enough: but in these things it will be hard not to be deceived; since our words cannot rightly express those things; that there is such variety of human understandings, that men's faces differ not so much as their souls; and that if there were not so much difficulty in things, yet they could not but be variously apprehended by several men; and then considering that in twenty opinions, it may be, not one of them is

true; nay, whereas Varro reckoned, that among the old philosophers, there were eight hundred opinions concerning the 'summum bonum,' and yet not one of them hit the right: they see also that in all religions, in all societies, in all families, and in all things, opinions differ; and since opinions are too often begot by passion, by passions and violences they are kept, and every man is too apt to overvalue his own opinion; and out of a desire that every man should conform his judgment to his that teaches, men are apt to be earnest in their persuasion, and over-act the proposition; and from being true, as he supposes, he will think it profitable; and if you warm him either with confidence, or opposition, he quickly tells you, it is necessary; and as he loves those that think as he does, so he is ready to hate them that do not; and then secretly from wishing evil to him, he is apt to believe evil will come to him; and that it is just it should: and by this time, the opinion is troublesome, and puts other men upon their guard against it; and then while passion reigns, and reason is modest and patient, and talks not loud like a storm, victory is more regarded than truth, and men call God into the party, and his judgments are used for arguments, and the threatenings of the Scripture are snatched up in haste, and men throw 'arrows, firebrands, and death,' and by this time all the world is in an uproar. All this, and a thousand things more, the English protestants considering, deny not their communion to any Christian who desires it, and believes the apostles' creed, and is of the religion of the four first general councils; they hope well of all that live well; they receive into their bosom all true believers of what church soever; and for them that err, they instruct them, and then leave them to their liberty, to stand or fall before their own master.

It was a famous saying of Stephen, the great king of Poland; that God had reserved to himself three things. 1. To make something out of nothing. 2. To know future things, and all that shall be hereafter. 3. To have the rule over consciences. It is this last, we say, the church of Rome does arrogate and invade.

1. By imposing articles, as necessary to salvation, which God never made so. Where hath God said, that it is neces-

sary to salvation, that every human creature should be subject to the Roman bishop? But the church of Rome says it[c]; and by that, at one blow, cuts off from heaven all the other churches of the world, Greek, Armenian, Ethiopian, Russian, protestants: which is an act so contrary to charity, to the hope and piety of Christians, so dishonourable to the kingdom of Christ, so disparaging to the justice, to the wisdom and the goodness of God, as any thing which can be said. Where hath it been said, that it shall be a part of Christian faith, to believe, that though the fathers of the church did communicate infants, yet they did it without any opinion of necessity? And yet the church of Rome hath determined it, in one of her general councils[d], as a thing, 'sine controversiâ credendum,' 'to be believed without doubt,' or dispute: it was indeed the first time that this was made a part of the Christian religion; but then let all wise men take heed how they ask the church of Rome; where was this part of her religion before the council of Trent? for that is a secret: and, that this is a part of their religion, I suppose will not be denied, when a general council hath determined it to be a truth without controversy, and to be held accordingly. Where hath God said, that those churches that differ from the Roman church in some propositions, cannot confer true orders, nor appoint ministers of the Gospel of Christ? and yet, 'Super totam materiam,' the church of Rome is so implacably angry and imperious with the churches of the protestants, that, if any English priest turn to them, they re-ordain him; which yet themselves call sacrilegious, in case his former ordination was valid; as it is impossible to prove it was not, there being neither in Scripture, nor catholic tradition, any laws, order, or rule, touching our case in this particular. Where hath God said, that penance is a sacrament, or that, without confession to a priest, no man can be saved? If Christ did not institute it, how can it be necessary? and if he did institute it, yet the church of Rome ought not to say, it is therefore necessary; for with them an institution is not a command,

[c] Extrav. de Majorit. et obedien. dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus absolutè necessarium ad salutem omni humanæ creaturæ subesse Romano pontifici.

[d] Sess. 1. cap. 4.

though Christ be the institutor; and if institution be equal to a commandment, how then comes the sacrament not to be administered in both kinds; when it is confessed, that in both kinds it was instituted?

2. The church of Rome does so multiply articles, that few of the laity know the half of them, and yet imposes them all under the same necessity; and if in any one of them, a man make a doubt, he hath lost all faith, and had as good be an infidel; for the church's authority being the formal object of faith, that is the only reason why an article is to be believed; the reason is the same in all things else: and, therefore, you may no more deny any thing she says, than all she says; and an infidel is as sure of heaven, as any Christian is that calls in question any of the innumerable propositions, which, with her, are esteemed 'de fide.' Now, if it be considered, that some of the Roman doctrines are a state of temptation to all the reason of mankind, as the doctrine of transubstantiation; that some are at least of a suspicious improbity, as worship of images, and of the consecrated elements, and many others; some are of a nice and curious nature, as the doctrine of merit, of condignity and congruity; some are perfectly of human inventions, without ground of Scripture, or tradition, as the forms of ordination, absolution, &c. When men see, that some things can never be believed heartily, and many not understood fully, and more not remembered, or considered perfectly, and yet all imposed upon the same necessity; and as good believe nothing, as not every thing; this way is apt to make men despise all religion, or despair of their own salvation. The church of Rome hath a remedy for this; and by a distinction, undertakes to save you harmless: you are not tied to believe all with an explicit faith; it suffices that your faith be implicit, or involved in the faith of the church; that is, if you believe that she says true in all things, you need inquire no further: so that by this means, the authority of their church is made authentic, for that is the first and last of the design; and you are taught to be saved by the faith of others; and a faith is preached, that you have no need ever to look after it; a faith, of which you know nothing; but it matters not, as long as others do: but then it is also a faith, which can never be the foundation of a good

life; for upon ignorance, nothing that is good, can be built; no, not so much as a blind obedience; for even blindly to obey, is built upon something, that you are bidden explicitly to believe, viz. the infallibility or the authority of the church; but upon an implicit faith, you can no more establish a building, than you can number that which is not. Besides this, an implicit faith in the articles of the church of Rome is no sense; it is not faith at all, that is not explicit; 'Faith comes by hearing,' and not 'by not hearing;' and the people of the Roman church believe one proposition explicitly, that is, that their church cannot err; and then indeed, they are ready to believe any thing they tell them; but as yet they believe nothing but the infallibility of their guides: and to call that faith, which is but a readiness, or disposition to have it, is like filling a man's belly with the meat he shall eat to-morrow night; an act of understanding antedated. But when it is considered in its own intrinsic nature and meaning, it effects this proposition, that these things are indeed no objects of that faith, by which we are to be saved (for it is strange, that men having the use of reason, should hope to be saved by the merit of a faith that believes nothing, that knows nothing, that understands nothing); but that our faith is completed in the essential notices of the evangelical covenant, in the propositions which every Christian, man and woman, is bound to know; and that the other propositions are but arts of empire, and devices of government, or the scholastic confidence of opinions; something to amuse consciences, and by such, by which the mystic persons may become more knowing and revered than their poor parishioners.

3. The church of Rome determines trifles and inconsiderable propositions, and adopts them into the family of faith. Of this nature are many things which the popes determine in their chairs, and send them into the world as oracles. What a dangerous thing would it be esteemed to any Roman catholic, if he should dare to question, whether the consecration of the bread and wine be to be done by the prayer of the priest, or by the mystic words of 'Hoc est corpus meum,' said over the elements! For, that by the force of those words, said with right intention, the bread is transubstantiated, and made the body of Christ, "Ecclesia catholica

magno consensu docet," said Bellarmine[e]; so it is also in the council of Florence, in the instruction of the Armenians; so it is taught in the catechism of the council of Trent; so it is agreed by the Master of the Sentences and his scholars; by Gratian, and the lawyers; and so it is determined in the law itself, 'cap. cum Martha extr. de celebratione missarum.' And yet this is no certain thing: and not so agreeable to the spirituality of the gospel, to suppose such a change made by the saying so many words. And, therefore, although the church does well in using all the words of institution at the consecration; for so they are carefully recited in the liturgies of St. James, St. Clement, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, the Anaphora of the Syrians, in the universal canon of the Ethiopians, only they do not do this so carefully in the Roman missal[f], but leave out words very considerable, words which St. Luke and St. Paul recite; viz., "which is broken for you;" or "which is given for you:" and to the words of consecration of the chalice, they add words which Christ did not speak in the institution and benediction; yet, besides this, generally the Greek fathers, and divers of the Latin, do expressly teach, that the consecration of the elements is made by the prayers of the church, recited by the bishop or priest: for the Scripture tells us, that Christ took the bread, he blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to them, saying, 'Take, eat.' It is to be supposed, that Christ consecrated it before he gave it to them; and yet, if he did, all the consecration was effected by his benediction of it: and if (as the Romanists contend) Christ gave the sacrament of the Eucharist to the two disciples at Emmaus, it is certain there is no record of any other consecration, but by Christ's blessing or praying over the elements. It is, indeed, possible, that something more might be done than was set down, but nothing less; and, therefore, this consecration was not done without the benediction; and, therefore, 'Hoc est corpus meum' alone cannot do it; at least there is no warrant for it in Christ's example. And when St. Peter, in his ministry, did found and establish churches, "Orationum ordinem, quibus oblata Deo sacrificia conse-

[e] Lib. iv. de Sacr. Eucha. cap. 12. sect. est. igitur. Lib. iv. sent. dist. 8.

[f] Inter Evangelistas, quæ omittuntur ab uno, supplentur ab alio. Innocentius de offic. Missæ, lib. iii. c. 17.

crantur, à St. Petro primò fuisse institutum," said Isidore, Remigius, Hugo de St. Victore, and Alphonsus à Castro; "St. Peter first instituted the order of prayers, by which the sacrifices offered to God were consecrated:" and in the liturgy of St. James, after the words of institution are recited over the elements, there is a prayer of consecration, "O Lord, make this bread to be the body of thy Christ," &c. Which words, although Bellarmine troubles himself to answer, as cardinal Bessarion did before him; yet, we shall find his answers to no purpose; expounding the prayer to be only a confirmation, or an 'amen' to what was done before; for if that consecration was made before that prayer, how comes St. James to call it 'bread' after consecration? And as weak are his other answers, saying, the prayer means that 'God would make it so to us, not in itself;' which, although St. James hath nothing to warrant that exposition; yet it is true upon another account, that is, because the bread becomes Christ's body only to us, to them who communicate worthily, but never to the wicked, and it is not Christ's body but in the using it, and that worthily too. And, therefore, his third answer (which he uses first) is certainly the best; and that is the answer which Bessarion makes, that, for aught they know, 'the order of the words is changed; and that the prayer should be set before, not after the words of consecration.' Against which, although it is sufficient to oppose that, for aught they or we know, the order is not changed; for to this day, and always (so far as any record remains) the Greeks kept the same order of the words; and the Greek fathers had their sentiment and doctrine agreeable to it. And, as in St. James's liturgy, so in the missal, said to be of St. Clement, the same order is observed; and after the words of the institution or declaration, God is invocated to send his Holy Spirit to make the oblation to become the body and blood of Christ. And in pursuance of this Justin Martyr[f] calls it, Τὴν δι' εὐχῆς εὐχαριστικὴν τροφὴν, and Origen[g] ἄρτους συναγομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχήν "Ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur," said St. Jerome[h]; and St. Austin calls the sacrament, "Prece mystica consecratum."

[f] Apol. 2. [g] Lib. viii. cont. Celsum. [h] Lib. iii. de Trinit. c. 4.

But of this thing I have given an account in other places[1]: the use I make of it now, is this; that the church of Rome is not only forward to decree things uncertain, or to take them for granted, which they can never prove; but when she is by chance or interest, or mistake, fallen upon a proposition, she will not endure any one to oppose it; and, indeed, if she did suffer a change in this particular, not only a great part of their Thomistical theology would be found out to be sandy and inconsistent; but the doctrine of transubstantiation would have no foundation. True it is, this is a new doctrine in the church of Rome; for Amularius affirms, that the apostles did consecrate only by benediction; and Pope Innocent III., and Pope Innocent IV., taught that Christ did not consecrate by the words of "Hoc est corpus meum:" so that the doctrine is new; and yet I make no question, he that shall now say so, shall not be accounted a catholic.

But the instances are many of this nature, not necessary to be enumerated, because they are notorious; and when the 'quæstiones disputatæ,' as St. Thomas Aquinas calls a volume of his disputations, are (at least many of them) past into catholic propositions, and become the general doctrine of their church; they do not so much insist upon the nature of the propositions, as the securing of that authority by which they are taught. If any man dissent in the doctrine of purgatory, or concomitancy, and the half-communion, then presently 'Hannibal ad portas;' they first kill him, and then damn him (as far as they can). But in the great questions of predetermination, in which, man's duty, and the force of laws, and the powers of choice, and the attributes of God, are deeply concerned, they differ infinitely, and yet they endure the difference, and keep the communion. But if the heats and interests that are amongst them, had happened to be employed in this instance; they would have made a dissent in these questions as damnable as any other. But the events of salvation and damnation (blessed be God) do not depend upon the votes and sentences of men, but upon the price which God sets upon the propositions; and it

[1] Vide Divine instit. of the office Ministerial, sect. 7. Of the real and spir. presence, sect. 4.

would be considered, that there are some propositions in which men are confident and err securely, which yet have great influence upon the honour of God, or his dishonour, or upon good or bad life respectively, than many others, in which the φιλοπρωτεύοντες make more noise, and have less consideration. For these things they teach not, 'as the scribes, but as having authority;' not as doctors, but as lawgivers: which because Christ only is, the apostles, by the assistance of an infallible Spirit, did publish his sanctions; but gave no laws of faith, but declared what Christ had made so: and St. Paul was careful to leave a note of difference, with a "hoc dico ego, non Dominus:" it follows that the church of Rome does "dominari fidei et conscientiis," "make herself mistress of faith and consciences:" which being the prerogative of God, it is part of his glory that he will not impart unto another. But this evil hath proceeded unto extremity, and armies have been raised to prove their propositions; and vast numbers of innocent persons have been put to the sword, and burnt in the fire, and exposed to horrible torments, for denying any of their articles; and their saints have been their ensign-bearers, particularly St. Dominick; and an office of torment and inquisition is erected in their most zealous countries. "Nempe hoc est esse Christianum," this is the Roman manner of being Christian: and whom they can, and whom they cannot kill they excommunicate, and curse, and say they are damned. This is so contrary to the communion of saints, and so expressly against the rule of the apostle, commanding us to "receive them that are weak in faith, but not to receive them unto doubtful disputations;" and so ruinous to the grace of charity, which hopes and speaks the best, and not absolutely the worst thing in the world; and so directly opposed to Christ's precept, which commands us, 'not to judge, that we be not judged;' and is an enemy to public peace, which is easily broken with them whom they think to be damned wretches, and is so forgetful of human infirmity; and but little considers, that in so innumerable a company of old and new propositions, it is great odds but themselves are or may be deceived; and lastly, it is so much against the very law of nature, which ever permits the understanding free, though neither tongue nor hand; and

leaves all that to the Divine judgment, which ought neither to be invaded nor antedated; that this evil doctrine and practice is not more easily reproved than it is pernicious and intolerable, and of all things in the world the most unlike the spirit of a Christian. I know that against this they have no answer to oppose, but to recriminate; and say that 'we in the church of England do so; and hang their priests, and punish by fines and imprisonment their lay proselytes.' To which the answer need not be long, or to trouble the order of the discourse. For, 1. We put none of their laity to death for their opinion; which shows that it is not the religion is persecuted, but some other evil appendix. 2. We do not put any of their priests to death who is not a native of the kingdoms; but those subjects who pass over hence, and receive orders abroad, and return with evil errands. 3. Neither were these so treated, until by the pope our princes were excommunicated, and the subjects absolved from their duty to them, and encouraged to take up arms against them; and that the English priests returned with traitorous designs, and that many conspiracies were discovered. 4. And lastly, when much of the evil and just causes of fear did cease, the severity of procedure is taken off, and they have more liberty than hitherto they have deserved. Now, if any of these things can be said by the church of Rome in her defence, I am content she shall enjoy the benefit of her justification. For her rage extends to all, laity as well as clergy; foreign clergy as well as domestic, their own people and strangers, the open dissentients and the secretly suspected: those that are delated, and those whom they can inquire of; and own that, which we disavow; and which if we did do, we should be reproved by our own sentences and public profession to the contrary.

But now, after all this, if it shall appear that the danger is on the part of the Roman church, and safety on our side; and yet that we, in our censure of their doctrines, are not so fierce, and in our fears of their final condition not so decretory and rash; then this doctrine of theirs against us, is both the more uncharitable, and the more unreasonable.

1. That the church of Rome is infinitely confident they are in the right, I easily believe, because they say they are; and they have causes but too many to create, or to occasion

that confidence in them: for they never will consider concerning any of their articles; their unlearned men not at all, their learned men only to confirm their own, and to confute their adversaries, whose arguments, though never so convincing, they are bound to look upon as temptations, and to use them accordingly; which thing, in case they can be in an error, may prove so like the sin against the Holy Ghost, as milk is to milk; if, at least, all conviction of error, and demonstrations of truth, be the effect and grace of the Spirit of God; which ought very warily to be considered.

But this confidence is no argument of truth; for they telling their people, that 'they are bound to believe all that they teach with an assent, not equal to their proof of it, but much greater, even the greatest that can be,' they tie them to believe it without reason or proof: for to believe more strongly than the argument infers, is to believe something without the argument; or at least to have some portions of faith, which relies upon no argument; which if it be not effected by a supreme and more infallible principle, can never be reasonable; but this they supply with telling them, that they cannot err; and this very proposition itself, needing another supply (for why shall they believe this, more than any thing else, with an assent greater than can be effected by their argument?), they supply this also, with affrighting homilies and noises of damnation. So that it is no wonder, that the Roman people are so confident; since it is not upon the strength of their argument or cause (for they are taught to be confident beyond that), but it is upon the strength of passion, credulity, interest, and fear, education, and pretended authority, all which, as we hope God will consider in passing his unerring sentence upon the poor misled people of the Roman communion; so we also, considering their infirmity and our own, dare not enter into the secret of God's judgment, concerning all or any of their persons; but pray for them, and offer to instruct them; we reprove their false doctrines, and use means to recal them from darkness, into some more light than there they see; but we pass no further; and we hope that this charity and modesty will not, we are sure it ought not, be turned to our reproach, for this

is the ἀνοχὴ καὶ μακροθυμία[k], that 'toleration' of our erring brethren, and 'long sufferance,' which we have learned from God, and it ought to procure repentance in them; and yet if it does not, we do but our duty, always remembering the words of the great apostle, which he spake to the church of Rome, "Thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art, that judgest another; for in what thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself[l];" and we fear, and every man is bound to do so too, lest the same measure of judgment we make to the errors of our brother, be heaped up against our own, in case we fall into any. And the church of Rome should do well to consider this; for she is not the less likely to err, but much more for thinking she cannot err; her very thinking and saying this thing, being her most capital error, as I shall afterwards endeavour to make apparent. I remember that Paganinus Gaudentius, a Roman gentleman, tells that Theodore Beza, being old, and coming into the camp of Henry IV. of France, was asked by some, 'Whether he were sure that he followed the true religion?' He modestly answered, that 'he did daily pray to God, to direct him with his Holy Spirit, and to give him a light from heaven to guide him.' Upon which answer, because they expounded it to be, in Beza, uncertainty and irresolution, he says, that 'many who heard him took that hint, and became Roman catholics.' It is strange it should be so, that one man's modesty should make another man bold, and that the looking upon a sound eye should make another sore. But so it is, that in the church of Rome, very ill use is made of our charity and modesty. However, I shall give a true account of the whole affair as it stands, and then leave it to be considered.

SECTION VIII.

The Insecurity of the Roman Religion.

1. As to the security which is pretended in the church of Rome, it is confidence rather than safety, as I have already

[k] Rom. ii. 4. [l] Verse 1.

said; but if we look upon the propositions themselves, we find that there is more danger in them than we wish there were. I have already, in the preface to the First Part, instanced in some particulars, in which the church of Rome hath suffered infirmity, and fallen into error; and the errors are such, which the fathers of the church (for we meddle not with any such judgment) call damnable. As for example; "to add any thing to Scriptures, or to introduce into the faith any thing that is not written; or to call any thing Divine, that is not in the authority of the holy Scriptures; which, Tertullian says, whosoever does, may fear the woe pronounced in Scripture against adders and detractors;" and St. Basil says, "is a manifest note of infidelity, and a most certain sign of pride;" and others add, it "is an evil heart of immodesty, and most vehemently forbidden by the apostles." Against the testimonies then brought, some little cavils were made, and many evil words of railing published, which I have not only washed off in the second section of this Second Part, but have, to my thinking, clearly proved them guilty of doing ill in this question, and receding from the rule of the primitive church; and have added many other testimonies concerning the main inquiry, to which the weak answers offered can no way be applied, and to which the more learned answers of Bellarmine and Perron are found insufficient; as it there is made to appear. So that I know nothing remains to them to be considered, but whether or no, the primitive and holy fathers were too zealous in condemning this doctrine and practice of the Roman church too severely? We are sure the thing which the fathers so condemn, is done without warrant, and contrary to all authentic precedents of the purest and holiest ages of the church, and greatly derogatory to the dignity and fulness of Scripture; and infinitely dangerous to the church for the intromitting the doctrines of men into the canon of faith, and a great diminution to the reputation of that providence, by which it is certain, the church was to be secured in the records of salvation; which could not be done by any thing so well, as by writing what was to be kept inviolate; especially in the propositions of faith, relying oftentimes upon a word, and a phrase and a manner of expression; which, in the infinite variety of reporters, might too easily suffer change. Thus

far we can safely argue concerning the error of the church of Rome; and to this not we, but the fathers, add a severe censure. And when some of these censures were set down by way of caution and warning, not of judgment and final sentence, it seems a wonder to me how these gentlemen of the Roman communion [a], that wrote against the book, should recite all these terrible sayings out of the fathers against their superaddition of articles to the faith contained in Scriptures, and be so little concerned as to read them with a purpose only to find fault with the quotations, and never be smitten with a terror of the judgment, which the fathers pronounce against them that do so. Just as if a man being ready to perish in a storm, should look up and down the ship to see if the little paintings were exact; or as if a man, in a terrible clap of thunder, should consider whether he ever heard so unmusical a sound, and never regard his own danger. 2. The same is the case in their ἀρτολατρία, 'worshipping of consecrated bread:' in which, if they be not deceived, all the reason and all the senses of all the men in the world are deceived; and if they be deceived, then it is certain, they give Divine worship to what they naturally eat and drink; and how great a provocation of God that is, they cannot but know by the whole analogy of the Old and New Testament, and even by natural reason itself, and all the dictates of religion which God hath written in our hearts. On the other side, if we consider that if the Divine worship they intend to Christ, were passed immediately to him sitting in heaven, and not through that blessed thing upon the altar, but directly and primarily to him whose passion there is represented, and the benefits of whose death are there offered and exhibited;—there could be no diminution of any right due to Christ. Nay, to them who consider, that in the first institution and tradition of it to the apostles, Christ's body was still whole and unbroken, and separate from the bread, and could not then be transubstantiate, and pass from itself into what it was not before, and yet remain still itself what it was before; and that neither Christ did command the apostles to worship, neither did they worship any thing but God the Father, at that time;—it must needs seem to be a

[a] Letter, and 'Truth will out,' &c.

prodigious venture of their souls, to change that action into a needless and ungrounded superstition: especially since after Christ's ascension, his body is not only in heaven, "which must contain it until his coming to judgment;" but is so changed, so immaterial, or spiritual, that it is not capable of being broken by hands or teeth. In not adoring that which we see to be bread, we can be as safe as the apostles were, who, we find, did not worship it; but in giving Divine honours to it, we can be no more safe, in case their proposition be amiss, than he that worships the sun, because he verily believes he is the God of heaven. A good meaning in this case will not justify his action; not only because he hath enough to instruct him better, and to bring him to better understanding, but especially because he may mean as well, if he worships Christ in heaven, "ad sua templa oculis, animo ad sua numina spectans;" yea, and better, when he does actually worship Christ at that time, directing the worship to him in heaven, and would terminate his worship on the host, if he were sure it were Christ, or were commanded so to do. Add to this, that to worship Christ is an affirmative precept; and, so it be done in wisdom, and holiness, and love, in all just ways of address to him, in praying to him, reciting his prayers, giving him thanks, trusting in him, hoping in him, and loving him with the best love of obedience: not to bow the knee, 'hic et nunc,' when we fear to displease him by so doing, cannot be a sin, because for that 'hic et nunc' there is no commandment at all. And after all, if we will suppose that the doctrine of transubstantiation were true, yet because the priest that consecrates, may, indeed, secretly have received invalid orders, or have evil intention, or there may be some undiscernible nullity in the whole economy and ministration; so that no man of the Roman communion can say, that by Divine faith he believes that this host is, at this time, transubstantiated; but only hath conjectures and ordinary suppositions, that it is so, and that he does not certainly know the contrary. He that certainly gives Divine honour to that which is not certain to be the body of Christ,—runs into a danger too great, to promise to himself he shall be safe. Some there are who go further yet, and consider that the church of Rome say only, that the bread is changed into the

body of Christ, but not into his soul; for then the same bread would be, at the same time, both material and immaterial; and that, if it were, to give honours absolutely Divine to the humanity of Christ, abstracted from consideration of his Divinity, into which certainly the bread is not transubstantiated,—is too near the doctrine of the Socinians, who suppose the humanity to be absolutely deified, and Divine honours to be due to Christ, as a man whom God hath exalted above every name. But if they say, that they worship the body in concretion with the Divinity; it is certain that may be done at all times, by looking up to heaven in all our religious addresses. And, therefore, that is the safe way, and that is the way of the church of England. The other way, viz. of the church of Rome, at the best, is full of dangers; and "qui amat periculum, peribit in illo," was the wise man's caution.

3. The like to this is the practice of the church of Rome in worshipping angels; which as it is no where commanded in the New Testament, so it is expressly forbidden by an angel[b] himself twice, to St. John, adding an unalterable reason; "for I am thy fellow-servant, worship God;" or as some ancient copies read it, "worship Jesus;" meaning that, although in the Old Testament the patriarchs and prophets did bow before the angels that appeared to them as God's ambassadors, and in the person of God; and to which they were greatly inclined, because their law was given by angels:—yet, when God had exalted the Son of Man to be "the Lord of men and angels[c]," we are all fellow-servants; and they are not to receive religious worship as before, nor we to pay it them. And by this we understand the reproof which St. Paul makes of the Gnostics, of whose practice he forewarns the Christians that 'they suffer not themselves to be deceived by the worshipping of angels.' Now by these authorities it is plain, that it can at least be no duty to worship angels; and therefore they that do it not, cannot be blamed: but if these words mean here, as they do in all other places, there is at least great danger to do it.

4. And of the like danger is invocation of saints; which if it be no more than a mere desire to them to pray for us,

[b] Rev. xxii. [c] Colos. ii.

why is it expressed in their public offices in words that differ not from our prayers to God? If it be more, it creates in us, or is apt to create in us, confidence in the creatures; it relies upon that which St. Paul used as an argument against worship of angels; and that is, "intruding into those things we understand not;" for it pretends to know their present state, which is hid from our eyes; and it proceeds upon the very reason upon which the Gnostics and the Valentinians went; that is, that it is fit to have mediators between God and us: that we may present our prayers to them, and they to God. To which add, that the church of Rome presenting candles, and other donaries to the Virgin Mary as to the queen of heaven, do that which the Collyridians did; the gift is only differing, as candle and cake, gold and garments, this vow or that vow. All which being put together makes a dangerous liturgy; not like to the worship and devotion used in the primitive church, but so like to what is forbidden in Scripture, that it is much the worse. The advantage got by these things cannot countervail the evil of the suspicion; and the wit of them that do so, cannot by a secure answer escape the force of a prohibition; and therefore it were infinitely more safe to let it alone; and to invocate and adore him only who is πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων, "the Father of the Æönes,"—the Father of men and angels,—and God, through Jesus Christ; and that answers all objections.

5. What good does the worship of images do to the souls of Christians? What glory is done to God by being represented in little shapes and human or fantastic figures? What Scripture did ever command it? What prophet did not reprove it? Is it not, in all appearance, and grammatical and proper understanding of words, forbidden by an express commandment of God? Is there any duty incumbent on us to do it? Certainly, all the arts of witty men of the Roman side, are little enough, and much too little to prove, that it is lawful to make and worship them: and the distinctions and elusions, the tricks and artifices, are so many, that it is a great piece of impertinent learning to remember them, and no small trouble to understand them; and they that most need the distinctions (that is, the common people), cannot use them; and at the best, it is very hard to think it lawful, but very easy to understand that it is forbidden; and most

easy to be assured it is very innocent to let it alone. "Where an image is, there is no religion," said Lactantius;—and "we ought rather to die than to pollute our faith with such impieties," said Origen. Now let us suppose that these fathers speak[4] against the heathen superstition of worshipping the images of their gods; certainly, if it was a fault in them, it is worse in Christians, who have received so many commands to the contrary, and who are tied "to worship the Father in spirit and in truth," and were never permitted to worship him by an image. And true it is that images are more fit for false gods, than for the true God, the Father of spirits; the superstition of images is more proportioned to the idolatry of false gods, than to true religion, and the worship of him "whom eye hath not seen," and cannot see, nor heart can comprehend. And it is a vain illusion to say, that these fathers did not severely censure the use of images among Christians; for all that time among the Christians there was no use of images at all in religion; and for the very reasons by which they condemned the heathen superstition of image-worship, for the same reasons they would never endure it at all amongst Christians. But then if this be so highly criminal (as these ancient fathers say), I desire it may be considered, for what pretended reasons the church of Rome should not only permit, but allow, and decree, and urge the use of images in their religious adorations? If it be only for instruction of the laity, that might be better supplied by catechisings and frequent homilies; and if instruction be intended, then the single statutes are less useful; but histories and hieroglyphics are to be painted upon tables; and in them, I suppose, there would be less temptation of doing abomination. But when the images, simple or mixed, are painted or carved, the people must be told what their meaning is; and then they will not need such books, who may with less danger learn their lesson by heart: and besides this, they are told strange stories of the saints whose images they see, and of the images themselves that represent the

[4] Against these quotations used in the preface of the first part, the author of the 'Letter to a Friend,' p. 3, and the author of 'Truth will out,' p. 6. object that these fathers speak against the worshipping of the images of heathen gods, not of the use of images amongst Christians; which cavil the reader may see largely refuted in the section 'Of Images.'

saints; and then, it may be, these laymen's books may teach them things that they must unlearn again. But yet if they be useful for instruction, what benefit is done to our spirits by giving them adoration? That God will accept it as an honour done to himself, he hath no where told us; and he seems often to have told us the contrary; and if it be possible by man's wit to acquit this practice from being (what the prophets so highly reprove) "spiritual whoredom," in giving God's due to an image; yet it can never be proved to be a part of that worshipping of God in spirit and in truth which he requires. And though it would never have been believed in Origen's, Tertullian's, or Lactantius's days, that ever there would arise a sort of Christians that should contend earnestly for the worshipping images, or that ever the heathen way of worship, viz. of what they called God, by an image, should become a great part of Christianity, or that a council of bishops should decree the worship of images, as an article of faith; or that they should think men should be damned for denying worship to images; yet after all this, when it is considered that the worshipping of images by Christians is so great a scandal to the Indians, that they think themselves justified in their religion by this; and so great a scandal to Jews and Turks, that they hate Christianity itself for that very reason; it is a strange pertinacy in the church of Rome to retain this practice for so little pretensions of good, and with so evident a mischief: to which, if this be added, that many of the ruder people do downright worship the image without a distinction, or scruple, or difference; and that for aught we know, many souls perish by such practices, which might be secured by the taking away the images and forbidding the superstition: I for my part cannot imagine, how the guides of souls can answer it to God, or satisfy their consciences in their so vilely and cheaply regarding souls, and permitting them to live in danger, and die in sin, for no spiritual good which can accrue to the church, which can countervail the danger, much less the loss, of one soul. However, it will be very hard from any principle of Christian religion, to prove it is a damnable sin, not to worship images; but every man that can read, hath very much to say, that to worship them, is a provocation of God to anger, and to jealousy.

6. Thus also it must needs be confessed, that it is more safe for the church of God, to give the holy communion in both kinds, than but in one; and Bellarmine's foolish reason of the wine sticking to laymen's beards, is as ridiculous as the doctrine itself is unreasonable; and if they should shave laymen's beards, as they do the clergy, it would be less inconvenience than what they now feel; and if there be no help for it, they had better lose their beards, than lose their share of the blood of Christ. And what need is there to dispute such uncertain and unreasonable propositions, as that Christ's blood is with the body, by way of concomitancy, as if the sacrament were not of Christ's body broken, and the blood poured out; and as if, in case it be so, Christ did not know, or not consider it, but for all that, instituted the supper in both kinds. And what more is gotten by the host alone, than by that and the chalice too? And what can be answered to the pious desires of so many nations, to have the chalice restored; when they ask for nothing but their part of the legacy which Christ left them in his Testament? And the church of Rome, which takes upon her to be sole executrix, or at least, overseer of it, tells them, that 'the legacy will do them no good;' and keeps it from them, by telling them, 'it is not necessary;' nay, it is worse than so; for when in the time of the council of Trent, instance was made, that leave might be given to such as desire it; the oracle was uttered by the cardinal[e] of Alexandria, but was given after the old manner, so that no man was the better. For no man was capable of receiving the favour but he that professed he did not believe it necessary; and then there could be no great reason to desire it; he that thought he needed it could not receive it; and he that found no want of it, in all reason would not be importunate for it, and then he should be sure not to have it: so that, in effect, there were two sorts of persons denied it; those that required it, and those that did not require it. And to what Christian grace to refer the wisdom and piety of this answer, I cannot yet learn. Neither can I yet imagine why the cardinal St. Angelo[f] should call "giving the cup to the laity, a giving them a cup of deadly poison;" since certain it is, that the blood

[e] Concil. Trident. lib. v. A. D. 1561. sub Pio quarto. [f] Ibid.

of Christ is "a savour of life," and not of death; and, as the French ambassador replied, "The apostles who did give it, were not empoisoners; and the many ages of the primitive church did receive it with very great emolument and spiritual comfort."—To this I know it will be said by some, who cannot much defend their church in the thing itself, that 'it is no great matter; and if all things else were accorded, this might be dispensed withal; and the pope could give leave to the respective churches, to have according as it might be expedient, and fit for edification.' But this will not serve the turn: for, first, the thing itself is no small matter, but of greatest concernment. It is the sacramental blood of Christ. The holy bread cannot be the sacrament of the blood; and if Christ did not esteem it as necessary, to leave a sacrament of his blood, as of his body,—he would not have done it; and if he did think it as necessary, certainly it was so. But, 2. Suppose the matter be small, why should a schism be made by him, that would be thought the great father of Christians? and all Christendom almost displeased and offended, rather than he will comply with their desires of having nothing but what Christ left them? If the thing be but little, why do they take a course to make it, as they suppose, damnation to desire it? And if it be said, 'because it is heresy to think the church hath erred all this while in denying it;' to this, the answer will be easy,—that themselves who did deny it, have given the occasion; and not they who do desire it; neither have all the Christian churches denied it; for I think none but the Roman church does; and if the Roman church, by granting it now to her own children, will be supposed to have erred in denying it; to continue this denial, will not cure that inconvenience: for that which at first was but an error, will now become heresy, if they be pertinacious in the refusal. But if it were not for political, and human considerations, and secular interests, there will be little question, but that it will be safer, and more agreeable to Christ's institution, and the apostolical doctrine, and the primitive practice, to grant it lovingly, than to detain it sacrilegiously: for, at least, the detention will look like sacrilege; and the granting it cannot but be a fatherly and pious ministration; especially since when it is granted, all parties are pleased, and no man's authority, real, or pre-

tended, is questioned. But whatever become of this consideration, which is nothing but a charitable desire, and way of peace with our adversaries, and a desire to win them by our not intermeddling with their unalterable and pertinacious interest; yet as to the thing itself, it is certain, that to communicate in both kinds, is justifiable by the institution of Christ, and the perpetual practice of the church for many ages; which thing certainly is, or ought to be, the greatest rule for the church's imitation. And if the church of Rome had this advantage against us in any article, as I hope there would not be found so much pertinacity amongst us, as to resist the power of such an argument; so it is certain there would not be amongst them so much modesty as to abstain from the most absolute triumph, and the fiercest declamations: in the mean time, our safety in this article also is visible and notorious. Against the saying of St. Ambrose, which, in the preface to the first part, I brought to reprove this practice,—those who thought themselves obliged to object, will find the quotation justified in the section of the 'half-communion;' to which I refer the reader.

7. What a strange uncharitableness is it, to believe and teach, that poor babes, descending from Christian parents, if they die unbaptized, shall never see the face of God, and that "of such is not the kingdom of heaven?" The church of England enjoins the parents to bring them; and her priests to baptize them, and punishes the neglect where it is criminal; and yet teaches no such fierce and uncharitable proposition, which can serve no end, but what may with less damage and affrightment be very well secured; and to distrust God's goodness to the poor infants, whose fault it could not be, that they were not baptized; and to amerce their no-fault with so great a fine,—even the loss of all the good which they could receive from him that created them, and loves them,—is such a playing with heads, and a regardless treatment of souls, that for charity' sake, and common humanity, we dare not mingle in their counsels. But if we err, it is on the safer side; it is on the one side of mercy and charity. These seven particulars are not trifling considerations; but as they have great influence into the event of souls, so they are great parts of the Roman religion, as they have pleased to order religion at this day. I might instance in many

more, if I thought it necessary, or did not fear they would think me inquisitive for objections: therefore, I shall add no more; only I profess myself to wonder at the obstinacy of the Roman prelates, that will not consent, that the liturgy of their church should be understood by the people. They have some pretence of politic reason, why they forbid the translation of the Scriptures; though all wise men know they have other reasons, than what they pretend, yet this also would be considered; that if the people did read the Scriptures, and would use that liberty well, they might receive infinite benefit by them; and that if they did abuse that liberty, it were the people's fault, and not the ruler's; but that they are forbidden, that is the ruler's fault, and not the people's: but for prohibiting the understanding of their public, and sometimes of many of their private devotions, there can be no plausible pretence, no excuse of policy, no end of piety; and if the church of England be not in this, also, of the surer side, then we know nothing, but all the reason of all mankind is fallen asleep.

Well, however these things have, at least, very much probability in them; yet for professing these things according to the Scriptures, and catholic tradition, and right reason (as will be further demonstrated in the following paragraphs), they call us heretics, and sentence us with damnation; with damnation, I say; for not worshipping of images; for not calling the sacramental bread[s], our God and Saviour; for not 'teaching for doctrines, the commandments of men;' for not equalling the sayings of men to the sayings of God; for not worshipping angels, for not putting trust in saints, and speaking to dead persons, who are not present; and for offering to desire to receive the communion, as Christ gave it to his disciples, and they to all to whom they preached: If these be causes of damnation; what shall become of them that do worship images; and that do take away half of the sacrament from the people, to whom Christ left it? and keep knowledge from them, and will not suffer the most of them to pray with the understanding; and worship angels, and make dead men their guardians, and erect altars, and make

[s] Suarez and Bellarmine confess, that to believe transubstantiation, is not absolutely necessary to salvation.

vows, and give consumptive offerings to saints, real, or imaginary? Now truly, we know not what shall become of them; but we pray for them as men not without hope: only as long as we can, we repeat the words of our blessed Saviour, "He that breaks one of the least commandments, and teaches men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven [h]."

SECTION IX.

That the Church of Rome does teach for Doctrines, the Commandments of Men.

THE former charge hath occasioned this, which is but an instance of their adding to the Christian faith new articles upon their own authority. And here, first, I shall represent what is intended in the reproof, which our blessed Saviour made of the Pharisees; saying, "They taught for doctrines, the commandments of men." And, 2. I shall prove that the church of Rome is guilty of it, and the church of England is not.

The words of our blessed Saviour are to be understood συνθετικῶς, or conjunctively; that is, "In vain do ye worship me, teaching doctrines, and commandments of men [i];" that is, things which men only have delivered; and if these once be esteemed to be a worshipping of God, it is ματαίαν σέβασμα, "a vain worship." Now this expressed itself in two degrees; the first was in over-valuing human ordinances; that is, equalling them to Divine commandments; exacting by the same measures, by which they require obedience to God's laws, and this with a pretended zeal for God's honour and service. Thus the Pharisees were noted and reproved by our blessed Saviour.

1. The things of decency, or indifferent practices, were counselled by their forefathers; in process of time they became approved by use and custom; and then their doctors denied their communion to them that omitted them, found

[h] Matt. v. 19. [i] Matt. xv. 9.

out new reasons for them, were severe in their censures concerning the causes of their omission, would approve none, no, not the cases and exceptions of charity or piety. And this is instanced in their washings of cups and platters, and the outside of dishes; which either was at first instituted for cleanliness and decency, or else as being symbolical to the purifications in the law: but they changed the scene, enjoined it as necessity; were scandalized at them that used it not; practised it with a frequency, passing into an intolerable burden; insomuch that at the marriage of Cana in Galilee there were six 'water-pots, set after the manner of the purification of the Jews;' because they washed often in the time of their meals; and then they put new reasons, and did it for other causes than were in the first institution. And, although these washings might have been used without violation of any commandment of God; yet even by this tradition they made God's commandment void, by making this necessary, and imposing these useless and unnecessary burdens on their brethren, by making snares for consciences, and making religion and the service of God to consist in things indifferent. So they made void God's commandment by turning religion into superstition.

2. Whereas, human laws, customs, and traditions may oblige in public, and for order' sake, and decency, and for reputation and avoiding scandal, and to give testimony of obedience; and are not violated if they be omitted without scandal and contempt, and injury, with a probable reason: yet, to think they oblige beyond what man can see, or judge, or punish, or feel, is to give to human laws the estimate which is due to divine laws. So did the Pharisees: "Quicquid sapientes vetant palàm fieri, id etiam in penetralibus vetitum est," said rabbi Bachai. But this is the prerogative of Divine laws, which oblige as much in private as in public; because God equally sees in the closet and in the temple: men cannot do this; and, therefore, cannot make laws to bind, where they can have no cognizance and no concern.

3. Human authority is to command, according to its own rate; that is, at the rate of human understanding, where the obedience may be possibly deficient, because the understanding is fallible. But the Divine authority is infallible, and absolute, and supreme; and, therefore, our obedience to it

must be as absolute, perpetual, and indefectent. But the Pharisees had a saying, and their practice was accordingly; "Si dixerint scribæ dextram esse sinistram, et sinistram esse dextram, audi eos," said the forenamed rabbi.

2. The second degree in which this expressed itself among the Pharisees, was, that they did not only equal, but preferred the commandments of men before the commands of God. "Plus est in verbis scribarum quàm in verbis legis[b];" and of this, the instance that our blessed Saviour gives, is in the case of the Corban, and not relieving their parents. "Sacrum erit, quicquid paravero in futurum ad os patris[c];" if they said it was dedicated, their father's hungry belly might not be relieved by it. And this our blessed Saviour calls, as being the highest degree of this superstition, "A making the commandment of God of no effect by their tradition;" this does it directly; as the other did it by necessary and unavoidable consequence.

Now that the church of Rome is greatly guilty of this criminal way of teaching and misleading the consciences of her disciples, will appear in these (amongst many other) instances

[b] In titulis Thalmudicis Raba Metzina Berechoth, &c.
[c] Rabbi Nissim.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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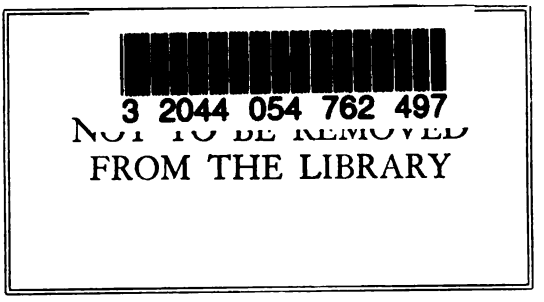
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